THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTIONS

IN

SWEDEN,

OCCASIONED BY

The Change of RELIGION, and Alteration of the GOVERNMENT in that Kingdom.

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By J. MITCHEL, M. D.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

To His GRACE the Duke of

SHREWSBURY,

One of His Majesty's

Principal Secretaries of State.

May it please Your Grace,

AS we have the *unwonted*, and perhaps the *peculiar* Happiness, to live under a *Sovereign*, whose Interest is inseparably united to that of his *Subjects*, we have also the Pleasure to see the Management of Affairs committed to the Care of a *Minister*, who has extinguished the unhappy Distinction betwixt a *Courtier* and a *Patriot*; and has an equal Regard to the Honour of the *Crown*, and to the true Interest of his *Country*. You are at once the Favourite of the *Prince*, and of the *People*: You have always preserv'd an unshaken Fidelity to the *one*, and a generous Affection to the *other*; and are equally belov'd by the *Former*, and ador'd by the *Latter*. You Inherit the unsully'd Glory of

your *Anceſtors*; and the Illuſtrious Name of TALBOT is now as Terrible to *Lewis* XIV. as it was heretofore Fatal to *Charles* the Seventh. The Eyes of all the World are fix'd upon you; they look upon you as a *Publick Good*; and, next to your great *Maſter*, you are the Object of their Hope and Expectations. You are the Chief Encourager and Promoter of *Publick Deſigns*, and are conſequently the fitteſt *Patron* for a Work that gives us ſo lively an *Idea* of the vaſt Diſproportion betwixt the Subjects of a *Hero*, and the *Slaves* of a *Tyrant*. And 'tis this Conſideration alone, which makes me hope, That the *Honeſty* of the *Intention* will prevail with you to excuſe the *Errors* and *Preſumption* of

Your GRACE'S

Moſt humbly Devoted Servant,

JOHN MITCHEL.

THE

The AUTHOR's

PREFACE.

AMong the moſt Entertaining Subjects that Hiſtory may afford us, I know none that deſerve more Attention, than ſuch Changes as States are ſubject to, with reſpect to Religion and Government. Every Man finds himſelf concern'd on the Account of what is moſt capable of moving his Affections, his Conſcience, and his Ambition: Each Character is animated with lively Paſſions; All is in motion. The People deſigning to re-aſſume that which they think to be their Primitive Right, and moſt ancient Privileges, will chuſe their own Maſter, and determine their Religion: They ſide with thoſe, in whoſe Favour Prejudice and Paſſion ſway 'em; while the Grandees themſelves are forc'd to fawn upon the Mob, that they may by their Aſſiſtance advance their own Intereſts, and private Deſigns.

When the Hiſtorian is a good Painter, he preſents a moſt curious Draught to the Reader's View: And if he be alſo a good Judge, he makes that uſeful and profitable, that be-

fore was pleaſant; by ſhewing, on one hand, the Inconveniencies that attend thoſe ſurprizing Revolutions; and on the other, by giving us a faithful Deſcription of their Character who appear on the Scene, and doing thoſe famous Men all the Juſtice they deſerve.

Here are repreſented a Nobility Factious within it ſelf, almoſt independent from their Sovereign; above all, jealous of the Authority which the Biſhops aſſum'd, and envious of their exceſſive Revenues. The Prelates uſurping their Prince's Rights; and often profaning the Sanctity of their Character, by Sedition and Violence. A whole Kingdom divided between theſe two Parties; and the *Danes* turning their Neighbours Troubles to their own Profit and Advantage, declaring for one of 'em, and at length falling upon both. A Maſſacre of the Senate and Nobility: And, in a Word, the *Swediſh* Monarchy ſhaken in its very Foundation, deſtitute of its King, Senate, Generals and Armies; and ready to become an unhappy Province of *Denmark*. When a Prince comes on the Stage, famous for his many Exploits, and the Head of that Branch which now ſits on the Throne; whoſe Courage and Conduct expels the *Danes* out of his Country, and whoſe Policy does by degrees gain him all that Authority which the Clergy and Nobility had uſurp'd on his Predeceſſors.

Here thoſe Riches, which, in the former Ages of the Church, were the Marks of the Prince's Bounty, and the Reward of the Clergy's

gy's Holineſs and Vertue, are ſeen to become the Occaſion of thoſe Diſorders; which was the Cauſe and Pretence of their being utterly depriv'd of theſe Advantages.

Here an Elective Crown is made Succeſſive and Hereditary, by the Valour of a Prince, who, from an unhappy Exile, becomes King; and ſo Abſolute, as to change the Form of the Government, as his Inclination and Intereſt directed him.

I own, I was offended at the little Exactneſs and Sincerity many Authors wrote with, in relation to the Affairs of *Sweden:* Some have diſguis'd the Truth of Things; and others have not been curious enough in informing us of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, and the Motives of thoſe Enterprizes. But the more theſe Authors ſeem'd to contradict one another, the more Care I took to reconcile 'em; and to diſtinguiſh what was True from what was Falſe, I perus'd with greater Application all the Hiſtorians who treat of this Subject, whether **Swedes*, *Danes*, *German* or *French*,

* Ericus Upſalienſis. Chorographia Scandinaviæ Adami Bremenſis. Tumbæ veterum apud Sueones Gothoſq; Regum. Exegeſis de quinque primariis Suecorum Gothorumq; antiquis emporiis. Retorſio adverſus Petram Parvum. Jacobus Ziglerus teſtis oculatus Cœnis Holmienſis. Huitfeld. Annales Epiſcoporum Slevincenſium. Theatrum nobilitatis Suecanæ, Meſſenii. Joannes Gothus Magnus. Olaus Magnus. Pontanus Saxo Grammaticus. Loccenius. Schefferus. Chytræus. Bazius. Buræus. Puffendorf. Vita Archiepiſc. Upſalentium. Crantzius. Vaſtorius. Meurſius. Scandia illuſtrata Meſſenii. Antiquitates Succogothicæ Loccenii. Monſieur de Thou. Florimend de Remond. Varillas. Maimbourg.

Catholicks or *Proteſtants*: I read 'em free from all other Intereſt or Paſſion, than that of knowing the Truth, and writing it with Exactneſs: And I have reaſon to hope I ſhall not be accus'd of being byaſs'd by any Party; a Fault too mean to be committed by a ſincere and impartial Hiſtorian.

I have not prais'd the Heads of the *Roman* Party in all they did, becauſe all their Actions were not laudable: They always had the Advantage of defending a Party which had the Truth on its ſide; but they themſelves very often were contented with an outward Zeal, without an inward Faith; and were leſs eager in the Defence of their Religion, than in that of the Wealth it procured 'em.

Neither have I wholly blam'd nor deſpis'd the Heads of the Proteſtant Faction, becauſe they were not wholly to be blam'd, or deſpiſed: I have diſtinguiſh'd Error from Malice; and reſpected the great Parts, and excellent Qualifications which God, as the Author of Nature, had endow'd ſuch Perſons with, as he had not led by his Grace into the Knowledge of his true Religion.

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SWEDEN, and NORWAY.
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NORTHERN OCEAN.
North Cape
Lagger Oe I.
Northkyn
Ommagang
waerdhus
Schipholm
Boomoy
Sueroy I.
Posanger
Vfaronger
South Sound
Finmark
Sallero I.
Pasvicat
Enarby
Treck
Sanien
Trommes
Ward hus
MOSCOVIS
LAPLAND.
Lofoeren
Mael: stroom
Weroy
West fiort
Traen
Torne
Kimi
Lap
LAPLAND.
Artick Circle
Lula
WHITE SEA
Fieleweer
Hitteren
Pitha
Cajaneburg
The Vogels
Ertsholm
Uma
Dronthem
Boe
Romsdale
North Point
Stat
Losmulling
Ornol
Bergen
Sillewog
Bergen
Pape fiort
Carmen I.
Stavanger
Ieder
Bery Sond
Vanse
The Naze
GERMAN OCEAN.
Lempta
Angerman
Brunfeld
Medelpad
SWEDEN.
Helsinga
Dalecar
Gestri
Obslo
Verme la
Carolstad
Upland
Stockholm
Dali
Bahus
GOTHIA
Skenen
Bleking
Scanen
Bornholm
Oeland I.
Gothland
Smaland
Christianopel
Calmar
Borkholm
Oestenby
Kalmstad
Inakoping
Nykoping
Singeberg
Wisby
Lutland
The Sound
DENMARK
BALTICK or EAST SEA
NORTH BODOM or Bothnick Bay
Silmar
FINLAND.
Tavast
Iondeh Lake
Biornsbo
Finland
Nyland
Carelia
Aland
Abo
Raumo
Wyburg
Helsingfors
Tavasthus
Cronsbury
Sakserns
Kexholm
Padana
Lindis
Salinis
Suisterna
Jonku
Yonger
Laxa
Ula Lake
Ula
Pitha R.
Calis R.
Torne R.
Kimi R.
Lochtis
Burakod
Carlis
Uma
Lofanger
Vmea
Inia
Savolax
Kexholm
Kaxholm
Carelia
Nyland
Wyburg
Helsingfors
Abo
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Gothland
Borkholm
Oestenby
Calmar
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Kalmstad
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Scanen
Bornholm
Lutland
The Sound
DENMARK
BALTICK or EAST SEA
GULF OF FINLAND
INGER
Ivanogorod
Narva
Esten
Tolsburg
Lethat
Pernau
Parpt
Lake Peipus
Dagho
Reeker
Oesel
LIFLAND.
Walmer
Riga
Kackenhuse
Letten
Duina R.
Memel
Coerland.
Brastaw
Koningsberg
Elbing
Prussia.
Dantzick
POLAND.
POOL OF MOSCOVY
Sundt
Helsenburg
Landskron
Lund
Malmoe
Vdstad
Christianstat
Carlshafn
Ertholm I.
HOLSTEIN.
GERMANY.
In GOTHIA youl find those Letters with signifey as followet E. for East Gothland and W. for W. Gothland &c.
a. Ruskog
b. Mariestad
c. Orebro
d. Vetter Lake
e. Kio
f. Laholm
g. Bradstad
h. Engelholm
i. Helsenburg
k. Landskron
l. Lund
m. Malmoe
n. Vdstad
o. Christianstat
p. Carlshafn
q. Ertholm I.

THE HISTORY OF THE Revolutions IN SWEDEN.

SWEDEN was anciently an *Elective Kingdom*, and was ſtill ſuch about the middle of the *Fourteenth Age*; for tho' the Children and neareſt Relations of the Deceas'd Monarch were uſually advanc'd to the Throne, the Order of *Birthright* was ſometimes neglected, and the Succeſſion was always determin'd by *Choice*. And by virtue of this Right of *Election*, the *Swedes* oftentimes claim'd a Power to *Depoſe* their Sovereigns, when they incroach'd upon the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation. 1350.

The *Royal Authority* was confin'd within very narrow Limits; for the King cou'd neither make War nor Peace, and much leſs raiſe Money or Soldiers without the Conſent of the *Senate*, or of the *Eſtates* when they were aſſembl'd: 'Twas not lawful for him to erect new Forts, or to put

the Government of the old Caſtles into the Hands of Strangers. The bringing of Forreign Troops into the Kingdom, wou'd have infallibly expos'd him to the Danger of an Univerſal Revolt: For every thing that might ſerve to extend, or even to confirm the *Prerogative*, was hated and ſuſpected by the *People*, who were as jealous of the Power of their *Sovereigns*, as of that of their *Neighbours* and *Enemies*.

The *Patrimonial Revenue* of the *Crown*, conſiſted only in certain ſmall Territories near *Upſal*, and in a very eaſie Tribute which was exacted from the Peaſants by way of a *Poll-Tax*. In the Reign of King *Magnus Ladaſlaſz*, the Copper Mines, the Propriety of the three great Lakes *Meler*, *Vener*, and *Veter*, and the Right of Fiſhing upon the Coaſt of the Baltick Sea, were by the Senate reunited to the Crown; and by the ſame Authority it was ordain'd, That they who had purchas'd untill'd Lands held in Fee, or a Right to Paſturage in the Foreſts, ſhould afterwards pay thoſe Duties to the Crown, from which they had freed themſelves during the Civil Wars. Since by the Laws of the Kingdom, there were few Offences puniſhable with Death, the Fines and Forfeitures that were exacted on ſuch Occaſions, were of old a conſiderable Branch of the King's Revenue; but the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* had ſeiz'd on the Profits which accru'd that way, and perhaps colour'd their Injuſtice under a Pretext that theſe Fines belong'd to the Church, as a kind of Expiation or Atonement for the Crimes of the Malefactors.

The Fees or Mannors, and the Governments of Caſtles, which at firſt were only granted for Life, or for a Term of Years, were inſenſibly chang'd to Hereditary Poſſeſſions: For the *Noble-men* who enjoy'd 'em, neglected the Payment of the uſual Duties for thoſe Poſts which they held by no other Title

Title but their own Power, and the Weakneſs of the Crown. And the *Biſhops*, and others of the *Clergy*, who were poſſeſt of ſuch Places, made uſe of the plauſible Pretext of *Religion*, to claim an Exemption from the Duties they were oblig'd to pay for thoſe Eſtates which they pretended were devolv'd to the Church, and become a part of its Patrimony. Thus the *Clergy* and *Nobility* had, by ſeveral Uſurpations, engroſs'd ſo great a part of the *Prince's Revenue*, that the Remainder at that time was ſcarce ſufficient to maintain 500 Horſe. The *King* was almoſt only conſider'd as the *Captain-General* of the State during the *War*, and as the *Preſident of the Senate* in time of *Peace*: 'Tis true, the former of theſe Junctures was always moſt favourable to the Prerogative, eſpecially when the War was carry'd on with Succeſs againſt the Enemies of the Nation; but the Concluſion of a Peace put a ſtop to his growing Authority, and left him only a Power to call a Meeting of the Eſtates, to propoſe Matter for their Deliberation, and to execute their Decrees.

The Publick Authority was almoſt entirely lodg'd in the *Senate*, which was uſually compos'd of *Twelve Lords*, who for the moſt part were Governors of Provinces, or Principal Officers of State. Theſe Lords attended the King at *Stockholm*, the Capital City of the Kingdom, when any Important Affairs were to be tranſacted. The *Archbiſhop* of *Upſal*, Primate of *Sweden*, was a Senator by his Office; and the *ſix Biſhops* of the Kingdom bore a great Sway in the Meeting of the *Eſtates*, tho' they had no right to ſit in the *Senate*, unleſs they were nominated by the King, or choſen by the Eſtates during an *Interregnum*. The Dignity of a Senator was not Hereditary, for the Nomination of thoſe Officers was a Branch of the Royal Prerogative; and ſome of the Biſhops, or principal Lords of the

1350.

Lincopinc, Stregnez, Weſteras, Scara, Aboo, and *Vexio.*

1282.

Kingdom, were choſen by the King to ſupply the vacant Places, who by this means had a fair Opportunity to introduce his Friends and Creatures into the Senate. But he was frequently diſappointed in his Choice, and for the moſt part loſt a Friend when he made him a Senator: For the nearer a Favorite was advanc'd to his Maſter's Power and Authority, he was the farther remov'd from his Intereſt. And beſides the Love of Liberty and Affection to their Country, were in thoſe Days the predominant Paſſions of the *Swedes*; nor cou'd any Engagement or Obligation weaken the Biaſs of ſo powerful an Inclination.

The *Senate* which at firſt was only inſtituted as a *Council* to adviſe the King, had by degrees aſſum'd an Authority over his Actions. The eldeſt Senator pretended a Right to admoniſh and check the Prince, when he tranſgreſs'd the Limits of his Prerogative. The People look'd upon the Senators as the Protectors of the Liberty and Privileges of the Nation. The Sovereign Power and Majeſty of the State was properly lodg'd in that Body. There Juſtice was adminiſtred Independently and without Appeal, and both War and Peace depended on their Deliberations. 'Tis true, they acted joyntly with the King, but he was oftentimes oblig'd to content himſelf with the Honour of executing their Reſolutions.

The *Clergy* were poſſeſt of greater Riches than the King and all the other Eſtates of the Kingdom. The *Archbiſhop* of *Upſal* and his ſix *Suffragans*, maintain'd their Dignity with all the Splendor that a vaſt Treaſure cou'd enable 'em to diſplay. They were for the moſt part the Temporal Lords of their Epiſcopal Sees: And beſides the Poſſeſſions that were annex'd to their Biſhopricks, which conſiſted in ſeveral conſiderable *Signiories* or Lordſhips, they had made themſelves Heirs to all the Eccleſiaſticks that died Inteſtate in their reſpective Dioceſ-

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ſes, which by degrees had extreamly augmented their Revenues. They enjoy'd the Profits of Fines and Forfeitures which formerly belong'd to the Crown, and by ſeveral Foundations and Pious Legacies, had made themſelves Maſters of a conſiderable number of the King's Mannors and Fees. The Patrimony of the Church was daily augmented by Donations, but cou'd never be diminiſh'd by Sale or Alienation, for ſuch Practiſes were forbidden by expreſs Laws; which were as prejudicial to the *Laity*, as advantageous to the *Clergy*, and ſerv'd only to eſtabliſh the Grandeur of the latter, upon the Ruins of the former.

The *Biſhops* made ſo good Uſe of the Influence they had over the People at Elections, and of the Need a Pretender had of their Votes and Intereſt, that they obtain'd on ſuch Occaſions ſeveral Privileges, which did very conſiderably diminiſh both the Revenue and Authority of the Prince. They exacted what Conditions they pleas'd of the King, before they wou'd own him to be their Sovereign: And before they wou'd perform the Ceremony of his Coronation, they oblig'd him to Swear, That he wou'd inviolably preſerve 'em in the Poſſeſſion of their Rights and Privileges; That he wou'd never attempt to put a Garriſon into any of their Caſtles or Forts: That the Lands and Mannors which they enjoy'd, by what means ſoever they had come to the Poſſeſſion of 'em, ſhou'd not be re-united to the Crown; and at the ſame time they made him Sign a Paper, declaring that he conſented to his own Depoſition, if ever he ſhou'd violate his Oath by incroaching upon their Privileges.

Theſe *Prelates* grew ſo proud of their Riches, and of the number of their Vaſſals, that they began by degrees, to act like ſo many little Sovereigns. They fortify'd their Caſtles, and kept Garriſons in 'em: They never appear'd without a numerous Atten-

dance of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and were ſtill at the Head of all Factions and Intrigues. They frequently took up Arms againſt their Neighbours, for Differences relating to their Vaſſals, or about the Limits of their Eſtates; and even ſometimes ſcrupl'd not to march at the Head of an Army againſt their Sovereign, eſpecially when they ſuſpected him of a Deſign to recover the Duties and Lands that belong'd to the Crown.

The *Lords* and *Gentlemen* fortify'd their Caſtles, and made 'em the Seats of their petty Empires. They treated their Vaſſals like menial Servants, tho' they allow'd 'em no Wages; they made 'em Till their Lands, and oftentimes put 'em in Arms to make Incurſions into the Territories of their Neighbours. The *Swediſh Nobility* was not then diſtinguiſh'd by the Titles of *Baron*, *Count*, or *Marqueſs*, or by Hereditary Names of Families: They were only known by the reſpective *Arms* of their Houſes, and by their Fathers Name, which they bore joyntly with their own; and were noted only for their Valour, and for the numerous Train of Vaſſals that follow'd 'em to the War. They defended their Rights, and reveng'd the Injuries they receiv'd, by Force of Arms, and neither ſought nor expected Redreſs from the publick Juſtice, becauſe there was no Power in the Government to put the Laws in Execution. *Force* was the Standard of Law and Juſtice, and the Supream Decider of all ſorts of Controverſies.

Guſtavus Ericſon, i. e. *Guſtavus* the Son of *Eric*

The *Burghers* of *Stockholm*, and the Inhabitants of other *Maritime* Towns, who ſubſiſted merely by Trading, were more ſubmiſſive to the King, and better affected to the Government. The *Merchants* eſpecially were ſo diſhearten'd by that Lawleſs Liberty, which expos'd 'em to the Inſolency of every Potent Oppreſſor, that they wou'd have willingly conſented to inveſt the Prince with a ſufficient Authority to reſtore the Publick Quiet, and eſtabliſh the

the Trade of the Nation in a flouriſhing Condition: But there were ſo few Cities in the Kingdom, that their Deputies had no great Intereſt, and were not much regarded in the *Diets*.

The *Peaſants*, on the contrary, who in this Kingdom have the peculiar Privilege to ſend Deputies of their own Body to the *Eſtates*, out of a blind Obedience to their Lords, were obſtinate Aſſertors of the Liberties and Privileges of their Provinces. Thoſe who liv'd in fertile Countries apply'd themſelves to *Husbandry*; but in *Helſingland*, *Cueſtricland*, *Angermeland*, and other Northern Provinces, they ſpent their time in *Hunting* Fallow-Deer, which furniſh'd 'em with *Meat* for their Subſiſtence, and Skins for the Prince's Tribute. They were mere Savages, for the moſt part bred in Woods, jealous of their Cuſtoms, and having little to loſe, were ready upon the leaſt Occaſion to riſe up in Arms and revolt againſt the Government. *Idolatry* was ſtill openly profeſs'd in ſome of their Villages, and *Chriſtianity* prevail'd in others; but their Religion was ſo disfigur'd by a Mixture of their Ancient Superſtitions, that they ſcarce retain'd more of it than the bare Name of *Chriſtians*.

The *Peaſants* were the moſt numerous and potent Body of the State: Some of 'em held immediately of the Crown, and ſent Deputies to the *Diets*; and the reſt were Vaſſals to the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. Tho' the Tribute they paid to the King was very eaſy and inconſiderable, he was oftentimes oblig'd to levy it by Force, and to ſend ſome regulated Troops to the Forreſts and Mountains, for the Security of thoſe who were appointed to collect his Duties. They ſeldom or never contributed their Aſſiſtance to the Preſervation of the State, but in the Quality of Soldiers; and even in that Caſe they thought themſelves oblig'd only to defend the Frontiers of their reſpective Provinces, and always claim'd the Privilege of chuſing their own Leaders.

In all other Reſpects they liv'd almoſt without any Dependence upon the Court, and ev'n without any Union or Concord among themſelves; being equally incapable of *Society* and *Submiſſion*, and affecting rather an untractable *Wildneſs* than a dangerous *Liberty*.

If we reflect upon the Independency of the Subjects, the limited Authority of the Sovereign, and the different Intereſts of the ſeveral Orders that compos'd the State, 'twill not appear Strange, that the Kingdom was almoſt perpetually haraſs'd with Inſurrections and Civil Wars. Moſt of the Kings aſpir'd at a more abſolute Authority, and ſome of 'em by the Aſſiſtance of their Friends and Creatures endeavour'd to make themſelves Maſters of the Government, and to ſhake off their Dependence on the Senate: But the People were ſo far from being unconcern'd Spectators of an open Violation of the Liberties and Privileges of the Nation, that the very Shadow and leaſt Appearance of *Arbitrary Power* occaſion'd an univerſal Revolt, and reunited all the States againſt the King.

The *Biſhops* were afraid of Repriſals under too powerful a Prince, who might ſeize upon his alienated Revenues, and perhaps confine the *Clergy* within the Limits of their Profeſſion: The *Noblemen* took up Arms to defend the Privileges that made 'em in a manner Independent; and the *Peaſants*, without comprehending their true Intereſt, fought with the utmoſt Vigor and Obſtinacy for the Preſervation of certain Cuſtoms that were uſeleſs to the Publick, but agreeable to their Savage Temper. The whole Kingdom was a perpetual Scene of Seditions, Deſolations, and Revolts: The Fate of the King ſeem'd to be in the Hands of his Subjects, and to depend on their Capricious Humour; and ſeveral Princes were driven out of the Kingdom, for attempting to make themſelves *Abſolute*.

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The Jealouſie that reign'd among the principal Families of the Kingdom, made 'em willing to retain the Title and Dignity of a *King*: But at the ſame Time they reſolv'd to beſtow that Honour only upon a Foreign Prince, that having no private Eſtate in the Kingdom, and being wholly deſtitute of Relations and Creatures, they might oblige him to content himſelf with as much Authority as they thought fit to allow him.

About the Year 1363. *Magnus Smeck* reign'd in *Sweden*: he had two Sons *Eric* and *Haquin*, by his Wife *Blanch*, Daughter to the Count of *Namur*. The Elder of theſe Princes being dead, the People of *Norway* beſtow'd the Crown of that Kingdom upon the Younger, who by his Father's Advice had marry'd *Margaret* Daughter to *Valdemar* IV. King of *Denmark*. *Magnus* having ſecur'd *Norway*, and being ſupported by his *Daniſh* Alliance, wou'd not let ſlip ſo favourable an Opportunity to make himſelf abſolute in *Sweden*, by aboliſhing the Senate of that Kingdom: And perhaps that Project was concerted by all the Three Kings, and deſign'd to be put in Execution in their reſpective Kingdoms, to rid themſelves of that dreaded Aſſembly which check'd their growing Authority and controul'd all their ambitious Deſigns. But as ſoon as the *Swedes* diſcover'd the Intentions and Correſpondence of theſe Three Princes, they took up Arms immediately, and *Sweden* became the Theatre of a cruel and bloody War. *Valdemar*, during his Life, was very diligent in aſſiſting his Ally; and *Haquin* ſent a conſiderable Body of Men to re-inforce his Father's Army: But the *Swedes* alone, who were always ſtrong enough when they fought for the Defence of their Liberty, routed the Joynt-Forces of theſe 3 Monarchs, and at laſt drove *Magnus* out of the Kingdom, eſteeming themſelves ſufficiently rewarded for all the Blood they had ſpent in the Cauſe, by the Liberty they had to chuſe a new Sovereign. 1363. 1365.

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They proceeded immediately to an Election, and the Choice fell upon Prince *Albert*, second Son to the Duke of *Meckelburgh*, and Nephew to the late King *Magnus*, excluding King *Haquin*, and *Henry*, *Albert*'s Elder Brother, whom they hated and suspected, as Persons who had always promoted the Interest of the Prince whom they had lately dethron'd.

Thus *Albert* ow'd his Advancement to the impatient Humour of the *Swedes*, which cou'd not bear the Yoke of too absolute a Power. Before his Accession to the Crown, that he might promote his own Interest he seem'd to embrace that of the People; but as soon as he found himself fix'd upon the Throne, he began to follow the Maxims of his Predecessors, and study'd the most promising Methods by which he might make himself the absolute Master of his Subjects.

The Senate was the object both of his Jealousie and Aversion; but the Fate of King *Magnus* deterr'd him from attempting to abolish that powerful Body, much less cou'd he hope either to gain or over-aw those rich and potent Lords that look'd upon themselves rather as his *Tutors* than *Councellors*. And therefore to ballance their Authority, he sent for some Princes of his Family, and several *German* Lords and Captains, whom he intrusted with the Command of the Troops and principal Forts of the Kingdom. He introduc'd some of these Strangers into the Senate, against the fundamental Laws of the State; and under various pretexts brought into *Sweden* a considerable Number of Foreign Troops, who began to render him terrible to his own Subjects. Then he proceeded to impose exorbitant Taxes upon the People for the payment of his Army: But this politick Contrivance to establish his Authority being push'd on too far, serv'd only to hasten his Destruction; for the *Swedes* grew jealous of their Privileges, and resolv'd to shake off that rigorous Yoke which they were not accustom'd to bear.

Margaret

Margaret the Daughter of *Valdemar* King of *Denmark*, and Widow of *Haquin* King of *Norway*, was at the ſame time poſſeſs'd of the Crowns of both theſe Kingdoms. For after the Death of the King her Husband, who did not long ſurvive the Defeat and Abdication of his Father King *Magnus*, the States of *Norway* intruſted her with the Regency of the Kingdom, and the Guardianſhip of her Son *Olaus*. And during her Adminiſtration of the Government ſhe made ſo good Uſe of her Time, and manag'd her Deſigns with ſo much Dexterity and Succeſs, that when the young Prince dyed, the *Norwegians* found they were not at liberty to proceed to a new Choice.

She was Miſtreſs of the Army, and of the Forts or places of Strength; ſo that the Principal Lords 1374.
of the Kingdom, who were not gain'd to her Party, durſt not ſeem diſſatisfy'd nor ſo much as indifferent at a Time when they could not without Danger diſcover their true Sentiments. Thus *Margaret* was elected by the Eſtates, and exchang'd the Quality of a *Regent* for that of a *Sovereign Queen*, having already born the ſame Title as the Wife of King *Haquin*.

King *Valdemar* her Father dying the ſame Year, without leaving any Prince of his Blood whom the *Danes* might chuſe for his Succeſſor, ſhe ſent Deputies to the States General of the Kingdom to Solicit her Election to that Crown. *Henry* of *Mackelburgh*, the Elder Brother of *Albert* King of *Sweden*, and Husband of her Elder Siſter the Princeſs *Ingelburge*, employ'd his Intereſt to obtain the ſame Dignity; and flattering himſelf with the Advantage he had of being a Son-in-Law to the deceas'd King, thought he might eaſily contend with a Female Competitor: But the Queen's Agents drew ſuch convincing Arguments from the *Merit*, and perhaps alſo from the *Money* of their Miſtreſs, that ſhe was unanimouſly elected

elected by the whole Aſſembly, and proclaim'd Queen of *Denmark* in the Meeting of the States. As ſoon as ſhe receiv'd the News of her Advancement, ſhe left *Norway*, and went immediately to *Copenhagen*, where ſhe fixt the Seat of her Empire.

This Princeſs, who by ſome is call'd the *Semiramis of the North*, beſides the uſual Ambition of her Sex, was Miſtreſs of a Dexterity in the Management of Affairs, and of a Capacity to form a long Series of coherent Projects, that are rarely obſerv'd in a Woman. Her Inclinations to Love were ſutable to her Character and Dignity, that is, ſhe was not really in love with any thing but Glory, or ſenſible of any Paſſion but her Ambition to extend the Limits of her Empire, and advance her Authority.

She rejoyc'd in ſecret at the Diſſatisfaction of the *Swedes*, and endeavour'd to gain ſome of the Leading Men of that Nation. She beſtow'd Penſions and an honourable Entertainment on thoſe that were ill treated by King *Albert*; and openly blam'd his Injuſtice in violating the Liberty and Privileges of his Subjects. That Prince was daily laying new Impoſitions upon his People, without the Conſent either of the Eſtates or Senate, and had already Squeez'd conſiderable Sums out of the Clergy by way of Loans: But nothing render'd him more odious both to the Biſhops and Nobility, than his Reuniting to the Crown the third part of thoſe Fees or Eſtates to which the Clergy and Gentry claim'd a Right by vertue of ſo long a Poſſeſſion.

This was the fatal Signal of an univerſal Revolt; the *Swedes* conſpir'd unanimouſly againſt him, reſolving to drive him out of the Kingdom, and to offer the Crown to Queen *Margaret*. They imagin'd that ſhe had already ſo much buſineſs in *Denmark* that ſhe would content her ſelf with almoſt the bare Title of *Queen of Sweden:* And tho' ſhe ſhould endeavour

endeavour to ſtretch the Prerogative too far, they concluded that the *Danes* and *Norwegians* would unite all their Forces to keep their common Sovereign in a Dependence on the Eſtates and Senate of each Kingdom.

In purſuance of this Deſign, they ſecretly deputed ſome of the moſt conſiderable Lords of the Kingdom to offer her the Crown, and ſhe receiv'd the Propoſal with Joy, as the moſt probable means to ſecure the Peace of *Denmark*. For the violent Animoſity that reign'd betwixt the Subjects of both Nations, was of as ancient a Date as the Foundation of the two Kingdoms; and that Antipathy, which is uſually obſerv'd betwixt Neighbouring States, had all along been a perpetual ſource of War, which had oftentimes prov'd fatal to *Denmark*. And beſides, this prudent Princeſs concluded, that her new Advancement might one day furniſh her with an Opportunity to unite *Sweden* to *Denmark*. Theſe Conſiderations made her reſolve to give a favourable Anſwer to the Propoſals of the *Male-Contents*: She agreed with their Deputies that the Nobility ſhould riſe up in Arms, that they ſhould acquaint King *Albert* with his Depoſition, that the Army and Eſtates ſhould publickly acknowledge her to be their Sovereign, and that after her Election ſhe ſhould be oblig'd to ſend a conſiderable Body of Troops to ſupport and defend 'em.

The Treaty being ſign'd, the *Swedes* immediately 1385.
took up Arms againſt the King, and ſent a Herald to intimate and declare that they renounc'd the Allegiance they had ſworn to him. At the ſame time they proclaim'd *Margaret de Valdemar*, Queen of *Sweden*, and as ſoon as they had receiv'd the Reinforcement which they expected from that Princeſs, the united Armies march'd towards *Weſt-Gothland*, where King *Albert* was drawing his Forces together to oppoſe 'em. That Prince had taken all poſſible Care

Care to put himself in a posture of Defence: He had rais'd a considerable Body of Troops, obtain'd the Assistance of several *German* Princes who were either his Relations or Allies, and engag'd the Isle of *Gothland* for the Payment of Twenty Thousand *Rose-Nobles* of the Coin of *England*, which he borrowed of the Knights of the *Teutonick Order* to maintain the Charge of the War. But all these Preparations could not divert his impending Fate: The two Armies met near *Falcopinc*, and *Albert* was not only defeated, but had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of his Enemies, with his Son, Prince *Eric*, and the principal Lords of his Party.

The Princes of the House of *Meckelburgh*, and *Gerard* Count of *Holstein* endeavoured to revive the drooping Hopes of this unfortunate Prince. They levy'd new Troops, and obtained considerable Succours from the *Hans-Towns* who were jealous of the Queen's Power, and dreaded the successful Progress of her Arms. Thus *Sweden* was made a Prey to several different and jarring Nations, who seem'd only to agree in a Design to ruin that Kingdom; and amidst so many Disasters, the poor Inhabitants could not distinguish their Friends from their Enemies. The War lasted almost seven Years with extraordinary Fury, and a vast Expence of Blood: And the Peace that succeeded was rather
1392; an effect of the Weariness of the two contending Parties, than of any Abatement of the Rage that animated them. *Albert* was at last constrained to exchange his *Crown* for his *Liberty*, and retired to his Native Country; after which Queen *Margaret*'s Title to the Crowns of the Three Kingdoms of the North was universally owned and acknowledged.

The *Swedes* seeing themselves subject to a Princess that had no Children, and fearing that after her Death King *Albert*, or the Prince his Son, might renew

new their Pretenſions to the Crown, intreated her to ſecure the Happineſs of the Kingdom by an advantageous Match. This Propoſal, however intended, was not at all welcome to the Queen: She was too fond of the Sovereign Power to ſhare it with a Husband: Yet that ſhe might not ſeem to ſlight the Petition of her new Subjects, ſhe conſented to appoint her Succeſſor. But at the ſame Time ſhe reſolved to chuſe a Prince whoſe tender Age might ſecure the Quiet of her Government, and keep him from attempting to mount the Throne during her Life. In purſuance of this Reſolution ſhe ſent for Prince *Henry* of *Pomerania*, the Son of *Wartiſlas* VII. and of *Mary* of *Meckelburgh*, the Daughter of *Henry* of *Meckelburgh*, and of *Ingelburge* the Queen's Eldeſt Siſter. She ordered him to be called *Eric*, a Name which twelve Kings of *Sweden* had already born, reſolving to educate him at her Court, and to make him the Heir of the Three Nothern Crowns.

The Form of Government in theſe Kingdoms was almoſt the ſame: All three were *Elective*, and every Nation had its *Senate*, without whoſe Advice, or the Conſent of the *Eſtates*, the Prince could not undertake any important Affair. In order to the Accompliſhment of her great Deſign, the Queen ſpent ſome Time in gaining Creatures, and ſecuring the Intereſt of ſome of the Leading Men of each Nation. And as ſoon as ſhe found her Project ripe for Execution, ſhe called a Meeting or *Convention* of the *Eſtates* of her Three Kingdoms to be held at *Calmar* in *Sweden*, whither Forty Deputies of each Nation repair'd to eſtabliſh a Fundamental Law, for the uniting of the Three Kingdoms under one Monarch.

The Queen preſented the young Duke of *Pomerania* to the *Convention*, and entreated them to confirm her Choice. She endeavour'd with a great deal

deal of Eloquence to make 'em ſenſible of the Advantages they might expect by obeying the ſame Sovereign; and put 'em in mind of the happy Conſequences of her Election, which had eſtabliſh'd the publick Tranquillity, and compos'd all thoſe fatal Animoſities that are wont to diſturb the Quiet of Neighbouring States. She repreſented to them the inviting Proſpect they had of making themſelves Maſters of all the Trade of the *Baltick* Sea, and that the *Hanſe-Towns* could never afterwards enrich themſelves by their Diviſions; adding, that the only way to perpetuate theſe Advantages, and to make the Union ſolid and durable, was to unite the Three Kingdoms into one Monarchy, by a Solemn and Fundamental Law.

1395. The Preſence of ſo great a Princeſs, the Solidity of her Arguments, the Applauſes and Intereſt of her Creatures, either gain'd or commanded the Conſent of all the Deputies. The Election of the Duke of *Pomerania* was unanimouſly approved, and the Three Kingdoms of the North were united under that Prince and his Succeſſors, by a Fundamental Law, which was received by the Three Nations, and confirmed by the moſt ſolemn Oaths.

This Celebrated *Union of Calmar* inſtead of eſtabliſhing a laſting Concord betwixt the Northern Kingdoms, was the fatal occaſion of thoſe bloody Wars that kept *Sweden* and *Denmark* in a perpetual Flame for above a hundred Years. It conſiſted of *Three* Main *Articles*, which ſeem'd to have been framed on purpoſe to ſecure the Liberty and Independence of each Nation. By the *Firſt* 'twas ordained that theſe Three Kingdoms which by the Conſtitution of their Government were *Elective*, ſhould afterwards be ſubject to one King, who ſhould be elected by turns in each Kingdom; and that the Royal Dignity ſhould not be appropriated to any one Nation to the Prejudice or Excluſion of the reſt, unleſs

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unleſs the deceas'd Prince ſhould leave Children or Relations, whom the *Convention* of the three *Eſtates* ſhould judge worthy to ſucceed him. The *Second* obliged the Sovereign to ſhare his Preſence betwixt the three *Realms*, and to ſpend the Revenue of each Crown in the reſpective Kingdom, without exporting the Money he received, or applying it to any other uſe than the particular Advantage and Benefit of the Kingdom where 'twas levied. And by the *Third* and moſt important Article 'twas provided that each Kingdom ſhould retain its Senate, Laws, Cuſtoms and Privileges; that the Governors, Magiſtrates, Generals, Biſhops, Soldiers and Garriſons ſhould be Natives of the Kingdom where they were employed; and that the King ſhould never diſpoſe of any of theſe Poſts to Foreigners, or to the Subjects of his other Kingdoms who ſhould be reputed Foreigners and *Aliens* to the Government of the Country where they were not Born.

The *Swedes* were extremely pleaſed to think that the Royal Prerogative was ſo effectually reſtrained by this Treaty, that the Sovereign could never afterwards invade the Liberties of the Subject. But they were ſoon convinced of their Error, and both ſaw and felt the fatal Conſequences of their miſtaken Policy. The Queen was too Powerful and Ambitious to content her ſelf with ſo limited an Authority. She was ſcarce ſettled upon the Throne of *Sweden*, when ſhe began to extend her Power, and endeavoured with an extraordinary Application to make her ſelf the Abſolute Miſtreſs of the Kingdom. She ſeized on all the principal Forts, which ſhe cunningly got out of the Hands of the Gentry, by propoſing ſome tempting Exchange that might enrich their Families, but leſſen their Power, and augment their Dependance on the Court. She beſtowed moſt of the Vacant Govern-

ments on *Danish* Lords, against the Proviso expresly mentioned in the Treaty of *Calmar*, and by degrees removed the *Swedish* Nobility from all the considerable Places of Honour and Trust in the Kingdom. *Abraham Broderson*, a young *Swedish* Lord, who had a very graceful Mien, and was admirably well shap'd, had the peculiar Honour of her Favour: She gave him the Government of *Haland*, and made him her only Confident. But her extraordinary Kindness to a Man whose *Handsomeness* was his only *Merit*, instead of obliging the rest of his Countrymen, furnished the disaffected Party with a new Pretext to censure her Behaviour, and murmur against the Government. At last they adventured to express their Dissatisfaction to the Queen her self: They went in a Body to attend her, and laid before her the Titles by which they held their Privileges, and a Copy of the Treaty of *Calmar*, the Violation of which gaul'd 'em extreamly. But that cunning and imperious Princess was too well acquainted with her own Power to dread the Effects of their impotent Rage; and instead of returning a Satisfactory Answer to their Address, she told them in a slighting and disdainful manner, That she would advise them to *keep their Charters and Titles as carefully as she intended to keep the Forts of the Kingdom.* She governed over afterwards with an Absolute Power, and endeavoured to secure and confirm her Authority by keeping the Nobility at a distance from the Management of State-Affairs, and impoverishing the Common People, that they might not be able to carry on a Design against the Government.

But since these Politic Cautions were not sufficient to restrain a Nation that had been accustomed to a Boundless Liberty, and was always ready to revolt upon the least Provocation; She made it her Business to gain Creatures, and to form a Party in the Kingdom, that might be able to maintain her Au-

thority

thority, and baffle all the Attempts of her Enemies. For the more effectual Proſecution of that Deſign ſhe caſt her Eyes upon th*n Clergy*, who were very potent both by reaſon of their vaſt Riches and the great Number of their Vaſſals: Nor could ſhe have taken a better way to curb the Fury of a grumbling and *Superſtitious People*, who thought themſelves obliged to be governed by the Maxims of their *Spiritual Guides*. There was not a Church in *Sweden* thad did not receive ſome conſpicuous Marks of her Bounty: She augmented the Power and confirmed all the Privileges of the Biſhops, and afterwards admitted 'em to a Share in the Government, that their own Intereſt and the Preſervation of their Grandeur might oblige 'em to maintain the Authority of the Crown.

The Biſhops gained by ſuch high and diſtinguiſhing Favors, devoted themſelves to the Intereſt of the Court; and the Inferior Clergy followed their Example, both by reaſon of their Dependence upon their Superiors, and becauſe the Favor of the Court and the Queen's Recommendation to the Chapters were the moſt effectual means to obtain a Biſhoprick. The Lords and Gentlemen, who were already jealous of the Riches and Power of the Clergy, could not without Grief and Indignation behold this new Addition to their Authority; but they were forc'd to content themſelves with repining in ſecret during the Life of the Queen. For that wiſe and powerful Princeſs entertained private Spies among the Diſaffected Party; and by that means was acquainted with all their Reſolutions, and enabled to break all the Meaſures they could take to ſhake off the Yoke ſhe had impoſed upon them.

After her Death, King *Eric* ſuceeeded in the three Kingdoms, but did neither inherit her Power nor her Prudence. He retired to *Denmark*, and ſent Governors to *Sweden*, who treated the People of that Kingdom rather as *diſarm'd Enemies*, than as *free*

Subjects. The Nation was overloaded with Taxes, and fill'd with Soldiers, who domineer'd over the wretched Inhabitants, and not only robb'd and plunder'd 'em without Controul, but added Scorn and Insolency to their unmanly Barbarity. The Officers conniv'd at these Disorders, and rather encourag'd than check'd the Offenders. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that either they receiv'd a share of the Booty, or had secret Orders to tolerate these Abuses. The Complaints of the Oppressed did not reach the Ears of the Prince, or were rejected with Disdain: Nor could they hope to see an End, or so much as an Alleviation of their Misery, without an entire Alteration of their Government. And therefore they resolv'd in so desperate a Case to have recourse to the most violent Remedies, and to free themselves from a Power that seem'd unjust at its first Establishment, and was now become Tyrannical and Insupportable.

1434. *Engelbrecth*, a Gentleman of the Province of *Dalecarlia*, was the first that adventur'd to appear in Arms against the public Oppressors of his Country. He rous'd the Courage of the Neighbouring Peasants, and engag'd 'em in the same Design. They were a rude and simple People, Lovers of their Prince and Country, but jealous of their Privileges, and Enemies to Slavery and Oppression. He march'd at the head of his Tumultuary Forces, and cut to pieces some *Danish* Troops that endeavour'd to oppose his Progress. His Army was quickly reinforced by a multitude of Peasants, whom the News of his Success drew from the Neighboring Provinces; and not long after he was joyn'd by the Noblemen of *Westmania* and *Nericia*. He made himself Master of *Upland*; and his Presence and Fame engaged several other Provinces in the Revolt. He abrogated the Taxes that were imposed by King *Eric*, and razed all the new Forts which that Prince or his Prede-

Predeceſſors had built to keep the People in Subje- 1434.
ction to their Authority. The Senetors who ſtill ac-
knowledged King *Eric*, aſſembled at *Wadeſtein* to
conſult about the moſt proper Methods to put a ſtop
to theſe Diſturbances. But *Engelbretth* hearing of
their Deſign was reſolv'd either to perſuade or fright
'em into a Senſe of their Duty. He march'd with all
poſſible haſte to the place appointed for their meet-
ing, at the Head of a Thouſand Peaſants, and en-
tring compleatly arm'd into the Aſſembly, repreſen-
ted to them the Injuſtice and Cruelty of the *Daniſh*
Government, and ſwore he would ſtab the firſt
Man that ſhould venture to oppoſe the Preſervati-
on of his Country. The pathetic violence of his Diſ-
courſe and the boldneſs of his Words and Actions,
ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Minds of the Senators,
that they publickly renounc'd the Allegiance and
Fealty they had ſworn to King *Eric*.

Charles Canutſon, *Great Marechal* of *Sweden* and
Governor of *Finland*, comply'd with the Reſolutions
of the Senate. He was deſcended from the Illuſtrious
Family of *Bonde*, which reckons ſeveral Kings of *Canut.*
Sweden among its Anceſtors. He ſaw with Joy that *Eric.* XI.
his Country was like to be ſpeedily freed from the
Daniſh Yoke, but he was vex'd to think than an or-
dinary Gentleman, ſuch as *Engelbretth*, ſhould car-
ry away all the Glory of ſo noble an Attempt, and
was even afraid leſt the Peaſants in the Heat of their
Affection to their Deliverer, ſhould diſpoſe of a
Kingdom in his favour which they had almoſt en-
tirely conquered under his Conduct. He went to
that Gentleman's Army and ſided with his Party on
purpoſe that he might make himſelf the Head and
Maſter of them: Nor was he diſappointed of his
Hope, for he quickly obtained the Authority which
was due to his Birth and Dignity.

He took advantage of the miſunderſtanding that
was betwixt King *Eric* and the *Danes*. This Mo-

narch seeing himself Master of Three Great Kingdoms, fancied himself above the Laws and Privileges of those Nations. He treated the *Danes* and *Norwegians* little better than the *Swedes*, and assumed an arbitrary Power over a People who were willing to be his Subjects, but could not endure to be used like Slaves.

The Tyrannical Disposition of this Prince made him so odious to his Subjects, that all the three Kingdoms conspired against him; and the Revolt was so general, that there were none left to support him. The *Danes* drove him out of the Kingdom, and con-
1439. ferred the Crown upon his Nephew, *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, who immediately sent to the Estates of *Norway* and *Sweden*, requiring them to confirm his Election in pursuance of the *Treaty of Calmar*. The *Norwegians* acknowledged him as their Sovereign, but the *Great Marechal* of *Sweden*, and the chief Noblemen of that Kingdom, endeavoured to oppose his Advancement. They represented to the *Estates* that the Election of that Prince ought to be rejected, because the *Danes* had chosen him without the Knowledge and Consent of their Allies: But the Bishops and Clergy made so strong an Interest for him, that his Election was confirm'd by the Plurality of Voices.

Sweden received no Benefit by the Change of her Master. He followed the Maxims of his Predecessors; *Denmark* was his Favourite Kingdom, and he left no means unattempted to bring *Sweden* under the Dominion of that Crown; but Death prevented the Execution of his Designs. He was succeeded by *Christiern* I. Count of *Oldenburg*, from whom the present King of *Denmark* is descended. The *Danes* advanced him to the Throne without asking or expecting the Approbation of the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*. Yet in imitation of his Predecessor he pretended, that by virtue of his Election in *Denmark* he had a just Title to the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Norway*;

but

but his Pretenſions to the former were thwarted by the *Great Marechal Canutſon*, who oppoſed his pretended Right with great Courage and Reſolution. 1439.

That Lord had obſerved ever ſince *Engelbrecth*'s Revolt, that the *Swedes* were weary of being under the Dominion of a Foreign Power: And from that very time he began ſecretly to aſpire to the Crown, and to draw a Scheme of his future Advancement. His Office made him Maſter of the Forces and Militia of the Kingdom; he govern'd a large Province, and was the richeſt Lord in *Sweden*. The Eſtates being aſſembled at *Stockholm*, the *Great Mareſchal* came thither at the Head of ſo numerous a Company of *Finlandiſh* Lords and Gentlemen, that 'twas generally concluded he would be Maſter of the Election. He repreſented to the Aſſembly, that the Treaty of *Calmar* was extreamly prejudicial to the whole Kingdom; that Queen *Margaret*, and the Kings her Succeſſors, had always made uſe of that pernicious Law as a Means and Pretext to bring *Sweden* under Subjection to the Crown of *Denmark*; that the *Danes* treated them rather like *Slaves* than *Allies*, aſſuming a Power to impoſe a Sovereign upon them, without calling them to his Election; and that they could only blame themſelves for ſo unworthy a Treatment, if they did not abrogate and diſanul a Treaty that was ſo diſhonourable to the Nation.

This Diſcourſe raiſed the languid Courage of the *Swedes*, and awakned their ancient Averſion againſt the *Daniſh* Government. It put them in mind of the Tyranny of King *Eric*; and every Man began to accuſe himſelf of Weakneſs and Stupidity for ſubmitting to the Prince of *Bavaria*. The Election of the Count of *Oldenburgh* was rejected with a great deal of Vehemency; and the Royal Dignity was conferr'd upon the *Great Mareſchal* as a Recompence for the Zeal he had always profeſs'd for the Intereſt 1448.

1448. of his Country. At the same time he managed the *Estates* of *Norway* so dextrously, and had so great an Influence over them, that he was chosen Sovereign of that Kingdom, whither he went, and was Crown'd at *Drunthem*, and intrusted the Government of the State to two of the principal Lords of the Country.

The *Swedish* Bishops had been devoted to the Crown of *Denmark* ever since Queen *Margaret* preferred them before the Nobility in the Government of the Kingdom. They only gave their Consent to the Election of the *Great Mareschal*, because they could not oppose it; and were vexed to behold the Increase of his Power and Authority. He was not ignorant of their Spite and Aversion against him, and that they were only dissatisfied because he did not allow them a Share in the Government. If he considered their Temporal Authority, he would have soon perceived that it was his true Interest to gain them: But he thought himself so well settled upon the Throne, that 'twas beyond the Power of his most potent Adversaries to disturb the Quiet of his Reign. He resolved to humble those lofty Prelates, and concluded that the most effectual Way to make them harmless and submissive to the Government, was to deprive them of part of those vast Riches, which
1452. serv'd only to make 'em terrible to their Sovereign. He obtained an Order of the Senate to make an Exact Inquiry into all the Rights of the Crown, and the Public Revenues which the Clergy had usurped; and ordained that no Person for the future should erect any new *Foundations*, under Pretext that the Superstition of the People would give the Clergy an Opportunity by Degrees to make themselves Masters of all the Lands in the Kingdom.

The Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks were extreamly incens'd at this *Declaration*. They affirm'd publicly that the King was a *Heretick*, and endeavour'd to persuade the People that this Invasion of their *Temporal*

poral Eſtates was only made uſe of as a Cloak to cover more pernicious Deſigns, and that the Blow was aim'd at *Religion* itſelf. To prevent the pretended Conſequences of a Regulation that touched them in the moſt ſenſible Part, they reſolved to take up Arms againſt the King, and engaged their Relations, Vaſſals and Creatures in the Conſpiracy. To favour their deſigned Revolt, *John de Salſtat*, Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, of the Illuſtrious Family of *Bielke*, diſpatched a Gentleman with ſecret Inſtructions to *Chriſtiern* I. King of *Denmark*, to invite him to *Sweden*, in order to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Treaty of *Calmar*. And leſt that Prince ſhould be diſcouraged by the ſeeming Difficulty of the Attempt, he aſſured him that all the Biſhops of the Kingdom would ſecond his Pretenſions, and that they were ready to receive him as their Sovereign into all their Cities and Forts. 1452.

Chriſtiern was then in *Norway*, whither he went upon a like Invitation from a Party that revolted againſt King *Canuton*: But notwithſtanding the War in which he was engaged in that Kingdom, he ſent a powerful Army to ſupport the intended Rebellion of the *Swediſh* Clergy. As ſoon as Archbiſhop *Salſtat* received advice of the *Danes* appearing on the Frontiers, he called a *General Aſſembly* of the Clergy to be held at *Upſal*, where he excommunicated the King in a ſolemn Maſs which he ſaid on that occaſion. After the Office was ended he laid his Eccleſiaſtical Ornaments and Habits upon the Altar, ſwearing that he would never put them on again till he had driven that Prince out of the Kingdom. Then he took a *Cuiraſs* and Sword, and went out of the Church in that warlike Equipage at the Head of his Vaſſals to fight againſt his Sovereign. The reſt of the Biſhops follow'd his Example, and took up Arms for the Preſervation of their Privileges. They joyn'd openly with the *Danes*, and long'd to ſee their Country under the Dominion of Foreign Princes, who during their neceſſary

1452. neceſſary Abſence, left the Clergy in poſſeſſion of all the Marks of Sovereignty, and even of a large Share of the Royal Authority. They ſcrupled not to fight againſt the King at the Head of the *Danes*, and the whole Kingdom was diſtracted with a dreadful Complication of Civil and Foreign Wars.

Yet that Prince might have eaſily diſperſt the Clouds that ſeem'd to threaten him with inevitable Ruin, and might have triumph'd over the joynt Forces of his Foreign and Domeſtick Enemies, if he could have contented himſelf with the Regal Dignity and the Revenues that were annex'd to the Crown. But he began too ſoon to domineer over his new Subjects, and not only impos'd unuſual Taxes upon the People, but invaded the Privileges of the Nobility, without reflecting on the fatal Conſequences of diſobliging thoſe to whom he ow'd his Crown and Authority. By theſe violent Proceedings he loſt ſeveral of his beſt Friends, and the moſt conſiderable Lords of the Kingdom. The Archbiſhop, taking advantage of this Miſunderſtanding, routed the King's Army, which was already weaken'd by the Deſertion of the Nobility, and purſu'd him to *Stockholm*, whither he retired after the Loſs of the Battle. That unfortunate Prince perceiving that the Nobility had forſaken him, and that he had neither Forces nor Proviſions to undergo a Siege, was ſo afraid of falling into the Hands of his Enemies, that he left the Kingdom and retired to *Dantzick*, with a Deſign to raiſe Forces in *Pruſſia* and *Germany*, and to appear once again in *Sweden* at the Head of an Army.

In the mean Time the Archbiſhop was received
1457. into *Stockholm*, where he caus'd *Chriſtiern* I. to be proclaim'd King of *Sweden*. That Prince was ſtill in *Norway*; but as ſoon as he had ſetled his Affairs there, he march'd immediately to *Sweden*, and was receiv'd as Sovereign of the Kingdom. The Archbiſhop flatter'd himſelf with the Expectations of Governing the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and imagin'd that *Chriſtiern* wou'd in imitation of his Predeceſſors content himſelf with the Title of King; but that Prince declar'd openly that he was reſolv'd to keep the Power in his own Hands, and did not think fit to gratify the Ambition of his Benefactor. The haughty Prelate finding himſelf ſo unexpectedly ſlighted, and (as he thought) ungratefully treated, expreſs'd his Diſſatisfaction in Terms that were not much different from a poſitive Menace. But *Chriſtiern* knowing him to be a Perſon of a turbulent and daring Temper was ſo far from complying with his Humor, or endeavouring to appeaſe his Paſſion, that he order'd him to be apprehended, and ſent him under a ſtrong Guard to *Denmark*. *Catil* Biſhop of *Lincopinc*, the Arch-biſhop's Nephew, took up Arms immediately to revenge the Affront that was put upon his Uncle, and having in a little time rais'd a conſiderable Body of Soldiers, had the good fortune to obtain ſeveral Victories over that Prince's Army. *Chriſtiern* perceiving that his Army was not ſtrong enough to keep the Field, in oppoſition to that Prelate, diſperſt his Forces into the Places that were in his Poſſeſſion, and return'd to *Denmark* to Levy a ſufficient Number of Men to recruit and augment his Army. 1457.

Biſhop *Catil* remain'd Maſter of the Government during the War, which laſted almoſt ſeven Years. He offer'd ſeveral times to receive the King of *Denmark* into the Kingdom, if he wou'd ſet the Arch-biſhop at liberty: But that Monarch was too proud to ſubmit to a forc'd compliance, and ſcorn'd to own the Reduction of *Sweden* to any but himſelf. *Canutſon*'s Friends perceiving that the Breach grew ſtill wider, took advantage of ſo favourable a Juncture, and prevail'd with *Catil* to conſent to the King's Reſtoration. Aſſoon as that Prince receiv'd the welcome News he return'd to

Sweden,

1464. *Sweden*, and re-mounted the Throne after he had liv'd seven Years in Exile; but he saw himself quickly reduc'd to his former Condition. This unexpected Revolution open'd the King of *Denmark*'s Eyes, and convinc'd him of the Error he had committed in disobliging the Clergy: He endeavour'd to regain their Favor by setting the Arch-bishop at liberty, and that Prelate assur'd him that he wou'd raise a new Insurrection against King *Canutson*. *Christiern* was engag'd in a War with the Count of *Holstein* who had invaded *Jutland*, so that he cou'd not at present spare any Soldiers: but he furnish'd the Arch-bishop with a considerable Sum to levy Forces in *Sweden*, and order'd a Company of his Guards to wait upon him, that he might enter the Kingdom with an honourable Attendance.

The Arch-bishop was met and receiv'd on the Frontiers by Bishop *Catil* and all his Followers. He blam'd 'em for contributing to King *Canutson*'s Restoration; and 'twas resolv'd by all that were present to Dethrone him a second time. The War broke forth again with more fury than ever: And not long after there was a bloody Battle fought on the Lake *Meler* which was then frozen, where the King was so entirely defeated that he had not Men enough left to secure his Retreat, so that he was forc'd to put himself into the Hands of his Enemies. The Arch-bishop made him renounce the Title of *King*, and afterwards confin'd him to a Castle in *Finland*, which he allow'd him for his Subsistence.

This Prelate was not so fond of King *Christiern* as before, nor so forward to acknowledge him as King of *Sweden*. His Imprisonment had given him a clearer view of the Policy and Temper of that Prince; and he had found by Experience that 'tis sometimes dangerous for a Subject to put too great Obligations on his Sovereign. He resolv'd to

to enjoy the Fruit of his Victory, and to ſhare the Supreme Authority with the principal Lords of his Party. Thus *Sweden* had the Misfortune to be made the Scene of a confus'd and fatal *Anarchy*, and to groan under the Tyrannical Dominion of as many Sovereigns as there were Lords that cou'd raiſe any Forces, or were Maſters of a Caſtle or Fort. Every private Quarrel was the occaſion of a War, and the contending Parties made uſe of the Names of King *Canutſon* or King *Chriſtiern*, to cover their riſing up in Arms with a Pretence of Authority, tho' at the bottom they did not own the Right or Intereſt of either of theſe Princes. This Scene of Diſorder laſted four Years, during which Time the Kingdom was perpetually diſtracted with inteſtine Wars; and the People were ſo weary of a liberty that expos'd 'em to ſo many and ſuch terrible Miſeries that they demanded the Reſtauration of King *Canutſon* with extraordinary Eagerneſs and Importunity, preferring an eaſy *Subjection* to a wild and troubleſom *Freedom*. 1468.

Thus after ſo many Revolutions that Prince had the good Fortune to mount the Throne a third Time. He was ſolemnly inveſted with the Title and Quality of a King, and was put in poſſeſſion of the Capital City; but the Biſhops and Lords retain'd their Authority over the Provinces. He did not long ſurvive this happy turn of his Fortune, and was ſo ſenſible at his Death of the Difficulties with which the Sovereign of an elective State muſt reſolve to encounter, that he advis'd his Nephew *Steno Sture* whom he appointed to ſucceed him, to content himſelf with the Quality of *Adminiſtrator* of *Sweden*, for fear of provoking the Jealouſy of the Lords by aſſuming a more elevated Title. The Eſtates, after his Death, approv'd the choice he had made, and the advice he had given his Succeſſor. The Biſhops and the Nobility fearing that if he were inveſted with the Royal Dignity, he wou'd re-demand the Tributes, 1470.

1470. Tributes, Revenues, and Forts which they had seiz'd, confirm'd the Title of *Administrator*, and in that Quality intrusted him with the Command of the Army, and the Government of the State.

The Dignity of *Administrator* was properly a Commission during the *Inter-Regnum* or Vacancy of the Throne, which might be revok'd and made void by the *Estates*. He was by his Office the General of the Kingdom, and had a more immediate Authority over the Soldiers and Officers, who took an Oath of Fidelity to him. The Arch-bishop of *Upsal*, as Chief Senator, which was a Dignity annex'd to his Office, had the Precedency in publick Solemnities and on Days of Ceremony; but in Time of War the Sovereign Power was lodg'd in the Person of the *Administrator*, and he enjoy'd all the Authority of a *King*, tho' he durst not assume the Title. The *Swedes* were so afraid of absolute Power, that they dreaded the very Name of *a King*, and imagin'd that they enjoy'd a greater Liberty under an *Administrator*, tho' his Authority was not Inferior to that of *a King*, and might be advanc'd as high as he had the Courage and Dexterity to raise it.

Christiern the First endeavour'd sometimes by *Treaties* and sometimes by *Force* to abolish that Dignity, and re-establish the *Union of Calmar*. The *Bishops* were still devoted to his Interest, and declar'd in his Favour as often as they cou'd discover their Inclinations without Danger. During the space of Four and Forty Years, that Monarch and King *John* the Second his Son, govern'd *Sweden* by Turns with the *Administrator Steno*, and *Suanto Sture*: For it happen'd not unfrequently that the King of *Denmark* and the *Administrator* were at the same Time Masters of several Provinces according as the Faction of the Bishops, or the Party of the Nobility prevail'd. In the mean time neither of 'em cou'd make themselves Absolute in a Kingdom where the Sovereigns were

were oftentimes to part with ſome Branch of their Prerogative, to purchaſe the Obedience of their Subjects.

Such was the State of *Sweden*, when it began to be made the Theatre of the moſt memorable Revolutions that ever happen'd in the North, which may be juſtly reckon'd the Foundations of the *Swediſh* Monarchy, and of the Grandeur of that Family which at preſent poſſeſſes the Throne.

Charles XI. *King of* Sweeden, *of the Palatine Branch of* Deux-points *is the Grandſon of* Catherine de Vaſa, *the Daughter of* Charles *of* Sudermania, *and Wife of* Caſimir *Count Palatine of the* Rhine.

After the Death of *Swanto Sture* the laſt *Adminiſtrator* of *Sweden*, the Factions and Parties, which by his Power and Policy he had broken and diſperſt, began to break forth with freſh Violence. He ow'd his Advancement to his own Merit, and to the need the Kingdom had of his Protection: For he was choſen *Adminiſtrator* at a time when that Dignity ſeem'd to be inſtituted on purpoſe to oppoſe the Attempts of the *Danes*. His Victories over the *Muſcovites* rais'd his Glory and Reputation, and made his Memory Illuſtrious.

His Power was almoſt equal to the Authority of the moſt Abſolute Monarchs. He was Fortunate in War, and reſpected in Peace. He oblig'd *John* II. King of *Denmark*, by the Terror of his Arms, to make a Truce with *Sweden*; and eſtabliſh'd Peace and Plenty among his People. The Nobility and Peaſants look'd upon him as the *Protector of the Publick Liberty*; and his Merit procur'd him the Friendſhip of ſome of the Biſhops, whom he had perſwaded to diſingage themſelves from the *Daniſh* Faction. 1504.

He never undertook any important Affair, without imparting his Deſigns to *James Ulfonis* Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and *Heming Gadde* Biſhop of *Lincopinc*: For tho' thoſe Prelates were Enemies to his *Dignity*, they cou'd not forbear loving and eſteeming his *Perſon*. He ſhew'd an extraordinary Reſpect to the *Senate*, and affected ſo little Superiority over the

1504. the *Noble-men*, that he seem'd only to excel 'em in *Merit*, tho' he was willing that People shou'd know that this was rather an Effect of his *Moderation*, than of *Weakness* and *Meaness of Spirit*. He kept always a considerable Body of *Standing Forces*, that his Enemies might never find an Opportunity to Surprize him, before he was prepar'd to receive 'em. His Court and Houshold were compos'd of the Officers of his Army; he maintain'd 'em with his own Revenues in time of Peace, and made 'em his Ministers and Favorites. These prudent Maxims which he observ'd in the Management of all his Affairs, made him the Terror of the *Danes*, and their Faction, who durst never engage in any Attempt against *Sweden*, during his Government.

After his Death, the Senate call'd a Meeting, or *Convention of the Estates* at *Arboga*, to proceed to the Choice of a Successor. The Bishops, led by the Consideration of their private Interest, endeavour'd to support the Claim of the Kings of *Denmark*, under whose Reign they had always the largest Share in the Government, and left no Means unattempted to revive the Union of *Calmar*. They represented to the Estates, that Plenty and and a flourishing Trade, were the happy Effects of the Observance of that Treaty in *Norway*; that this was the only Way to change the present Truce with *Denmark* to a solid Peace, which cou'd not but be extreamly Advantageous to *Sweden*; and that on the contrary, the Election of an *Administrator* wou'd make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody and pernicious War, so long as there were any Kings in *Denmark* able to maintain the Justice of their Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*.

But these Arguments were not much regarded by the rest of the Assembly, who were convinc'd that these designing Prelates wou'd, for their own Interest, bring the Nation under a Yoak that was Grievous

Grievous and Inſupportable to all the other Eſtates of the Kingdom. The greateſt part of the Deputies declar'd aloud, that they would have an *Adminiſtrator*, and the Biſhops were forc'd to comply with the prevailing Opinion. The Arch-biſhop of *Upſal* was the firſt that gave his Vote, and declar'd in Favour of the Senator *Eric Trolle*, who was a prudent and deſerving Perſon; and beſides recommended by his Age, Birth, Riches, and Alliance to the late *Adminiſtrator*. The Arch-biſhop, to prevent any Oppoſition that might be made againſt that Senator's Advancement, aſſur'd the Friends and Relations of the late *Adminiſtrator*, that 'twas only the Reſpect he had for the Memory of that Great Man, which made him name *Trolle* for his Succeſſor; adding, That by this means *Swanto*'s Son, who by reaſon of his Youth, could not be ſuppos'd to be yet Maſter of ſo much Skill and Experience as was requir'd for the Diſcharge of ſo great a Truſt, would have an Excellent Opportunity to fit himſelf for the Management of Affairs, and to learn the Art of War under the Inſpection of his Kinſman, who by reaſon of his old Age, could not keep him long from the Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dignity. 1504.

But this was only a ſpecious Pretence to cover his hidden Deſigns. He had reſum'd the old Maxims of the Clergy after the Death of *Swanto*, or rather began now to diſcover thoſe Inclinations which he durſt not own under the Reign of that wiſe and powerful Prince. *Eric Trolle* was his intimate Friend, and he was not ignorant of his ſecret Affection and Dependence on the King of *Denmark*, by reaſon of a conſiderable Eſtate which he had in that Kingdom. 'Tis true, that Lord was a very Wiſe and Judicious Perſon, but he had neither Courage nor Reſolution,

1504. and both his Age and Inclination made him Incapable of engaging in a War with *Denmark*.

Besides the Arch-bishop concluded, That the Fear of losing his Estate in *Denmark*, and the sure Prospect of a considerable Recompence, would have so great an Influence over him, that he would be easily perswaded to accept of this Dignity by way of Trust, and afterwards make use of the Power it gave him, to make the King of *Denmark* Master of the Kingdom.

But all these Politick Contrivances were frustrated, by the unconquerable Aversion with which the *Swedes* were possess'd against all that were suspected to favour the *Danish* Interest. The Lay-Senators, the Nobility, the Deputies of the Provinces, and Consuls of *Stockholm*, agreed unanimously to exclude *Eric Trolle*, and at the same time declar'd for the young Prince *Steno*. The Bishops and their Faction persisted obstinately in the Choice of *Trolle*; and the Heat of the two contending Parties began to occasion a terrible Disorder in the Assembly. But the Noble-men and Deputies maintain'd the Interest of Prince *Steno* with so much Zeal and Vigor, that the Bishops finding they could not safely oppose his Advancement any longer, submitted to the plurality of Voices, and even seem'd to approve what they could not prevent. Thus the young Prince was at last in-

1513. vested with a Dignity which he ow'd to the Merit

July 21. and Memory of his Father.

Not long after the Disaffected Party began to raise new Disturbances, and to dispute the Validity of the Election, pretending that it was carry'd on by indirect Methods, and that the Electors were either by-as's'd or over-aw'd. 'Tis hard to divine what might have been the Event of a Contest about so considerable a Prize as the *Supreme Power*: But 'tis probable

the

the Animoſity of the two Contending Factions might at laſt have occaſion'd a *Civil War*, eſpecially in an *Elective Kingdom*, where People are generally ſo unwilling to acknowledge a Man for their *Sovereign*, whom they us'd to conſider as their *Equal*; if the Difference had not been compos'd by the Mediation of the Common Friends of both Parties. 1513.

By the Articles of this Agreement, the young *Adminiſtrator* was oblig'd to conſent, that the Archbiſhop ſhould reſign his Benefice and Dignity to *Eric Trolle*'s Son. 'Twas hop'd that the *Son*'s Advancement would ſoften the *Father*'s Anger, and make him bear his Diſappointment with leſs Impatience: And this was reckon'd the ſureſt Expedient to eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding betwixt the two Families, and to preſerve the Peace of the Nation.

But notwithſtanding all theſe pretended Advantages, the Promotion of young *Trolle* was oppos'd by the greateſt part of the Nobility and Gentry, who look'd upon this Agreement as a Condeſcention beneath their Courage, and injurious to the Reputation of their Party. They aſſur'd the *Adminiſtrator*, that they were able to maintain his Right with their Swords in the Field, againſt the Biſhops and the *Daniſh* Faction: And ſome of 'em who penetrated deeper into the Intrigues of State, and were better acquainted with the Art of Government, told him in private, That the Fate of his Predeceſſors ſhould deter him from conferring the principal Dignity of the Church upon a Perſon that was already poſſeſt of the higheſt Advantages both of Birth and Fortune: That ſince the fatal *Treaty of Calmar*, the *Arch-biſhops* had been the Authors and Fomenters of all the Inteſtine Wars that had haraſs'd

1513. the Kingdom, under the Reign and Administration of his Predecessors: That young *Trolle* was reputed a turbulent and daring Person: That those who consider'd the Zeal with which the Clergy and *Danish* Faction solicited his Preferment, could not but suspect his Fidelity to the present Government: And 'twas absolutely inconsistent with the most obvious Rules of Prudence, to advance a Man that was in a manner oblig'd both by Interest and Natural Affection, to hate the Person who was the only Obstacle of the Grandeur of his Family.

These were the principal Arguments with which these Grave Politicians endeavour'd to convince the Administrator of the Dangerous Consequences of the propos'd Agreement: But in this, as well as in most other cases, it appear'd that the Force of *Reason* is not able to curb the unbridl'd Heat of *Youth*. The young Prince wanted Experience, and was unwilling to be govern'd by that of others: He was dazl'd with the Splendor of his new Dignity, and could not think himself secur'd in the Possession of his beloved Grandeur, so long as his Title was controverted by so powerful a Rival. His Mind was so taken up with the Pleasures of a *present Enjoyment*, that he was not at leisure to think of *future Dangers*; and perhaps he was so deluded by the seeming Generosity of the Action, that he was incapable of foreseeing the Hazard to which it expos'd him. But whatever were the Inducements that betray'd him into this Error, 'tis certain that the Arch-bishop resign'd with his Consent, and that *Trolle* was elected by the Chapter upon
1514. his Recommendation. He wrote to Pope *Leo* X. in his Favour, and remitted a considerable Sum of Money to the new Prelate, who was then at *Rome*, that

that he might be able to appear in an Equipage ſuitable to his Dignity, and to the Honour and Reputation of the Kingdom. 1514.

The old Arch-biſhop ſent a ſecret Meſſage to his Succeſſor, by one of his Confidents, with private Orders to paſs by the Court of *Denmark*, with which the *Swediſh* Clergy kept an uninterrupted Correſpondence. The Election of the *Adminiſtrator*, and the Advancement of *Trolle* to the Arch-biſhop of *Upſal*, where News of too great Importance to the King of *Denmark*, not to be imparted to him with all poſſible haſte. King *John* had not long before left the Crown to his Son *Chriſtiern* II. whoſe Temper was a ſufficient Indication of his future Misfortunes. He was naturally Sowre, Fierce, and untractable; his Courage proceeded rather from Tranſports of Fury, than from a magnanimous Deſire of Glory; and he ſeem'd only to make War, that he might feed his Eyes with the Bloody Horrors of Death. His Birth and the Choice of the *Danes*, had put him in Poſſeſſion of two Crowns; but he could not think himſelf Happy in a Kingdom, where the Sovereign Power was reſtrain'd by the Laws, and by the Authority of the Senate. On the contrary, he look'd upon *Sweden* as a Country, where by the Succeſs of his Arms, and Right of Conqueſt, he might one Day have the Pleaſure to Rule with a boundleſs and unbridl'd Power.

He waited with an emtream Impatience, till the Truce which his Father made with the late Adminiſtrator ſhould expire, that he might put his Deſigns againſt that Kingdom in Execution. The Advancement of *Trolle*, who was deſcended of a Family, and engag'd in a Party, that were always ready to promote the Intereſts of *Denmark*, help'd 1515.

1515. him to bear the mortifying News of the Election of a new *Administrator*: And he imagin'd, that by the Assistance of the *Swedish* Clergy, he might obtain an easie Victory over a Prince whose Authority was not yet firmly establish'd. He wrote with his own Hand to that young Prelate, to congratulate his late Advancement, and sent him a considerable Sum of Mony as a Token of his Friendship.

Trolle was consecrated at *Rome*, and receiv'd the *Pallium* from Pope *Leo* X. In his return to *Sweden*, he pass'd by *Lubeck*, which at that time was the principal and most potent City of all the *Hanse-Towns*, and had engross'd the whole Trade of the Northern Kingdoms. There he found a Gentleman whom King *Christiern* had sent to engage him in his Party. The *Danish* Minister, who was acquainted with his Master's most secret Designs, after he had deliver'd his Credentials, told the Archbishop in the King's Name, that His Majesty could not forbear taking this occasion to repeat the Assurances of his Friendship, and that he hop'd to see the *Union of Calmar* reviv'd by his Assistance, and by the Interest and Power, to which the Dignity of his Office gave him so just a Title.

Trolle was not ignorant of the Interest and Inclination of his Family; and both his Father and the old Arch-bishop had taken care to engage him in their Faction. He told the Gentleman that he was fully perswaded of the Justice of his Master's Pretensions to the Crown of *Sweden*; and pray'd him to assure that Prince, in his Name, that he was very sensible of the Obligations which the Consideration both of his Office and Family laid upon him, to promote the *Danish* Interest; and that as soon

ſoon as he had taken Poſſeſſion of his Arch-biſhop- 1515.
rick, he would endeavour to give His Majeſty the
moſt convincing Marks of his Zeal and Affection to
his Service.

He had afterwards ſeveral private Conferences with King *Chriſtiern*'s Agent, during his abode at *Lubeck*. The *Dane* finding him to be of a haughty and imperious Temper, and extreamly proud of his new Dignity, and of the Grandeur of his Family, reſolv'd to attack him on the weak ſide, and to make him an *Enemy* to the *Adminiſtrator*, as well as a *Friend* to the *King* of *Denmark*. He inſinuated with a great deal of Art, that he was oblig'd, in Juſtice to himſelf, and to the Honour of his Family, to reſent the Affront that was put upon his Father; and added, That he could never believe that a Perſon of his Merit would tamely bear the Arrogancy of an Inſolent Youth.

He repreſented to him afterwards, That the Election of an *Adminiſtrator* was a late Invention of the Nobility to elude the Treaty of *Calmar*. That by this means the Kings of *Denmark* were depriv'd of their undoubtful Right to the Crown of *Sweden*; and the Prelates of that Kingdom excluded from the Share which thoſe Princes allow'd 'em in the Government. Then finding that his Diſcourſe had made a conſiderable Impreſſion on the Arch-biſhop's Mind, he added, as it were to comfort him after ſuch Melancholly Reflexions, That in all probability the young Adminiſtrator would not continue long in the Poſſeſſion of his Dignity; That the King his Maſter was reſolv'd to inſiſt upon the Execution of the Treaty of *Calmar*; That his Claim would be aſſerted by *Charles* and *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, whoſe Siſter he had lately marry'd, by the Dukes of *Saxony* his Uncles, and the Marqueſs

1515. of *Brandenburg* his Brother-in-law; That he was at Peace with all the *Hanse-Towns*; That the City of *Lubeck*, which formerly pretended to preserve an Equality betwixt the *Northern Crowns*, was not now in a Condition to assist *Sweden*; That the Republick was so weaken'd by the late War, in which it was engag'd for the space of ten Years against the King of *Denmark*, that the Regency were wholly taken up with contriving Expedients to re-establish their Trade, and would think themselves oblig'd to *Christiern*, if he would consent to confirm and maintain the Peace which they had obtain'd; That his Master was endeavouring to make a League with *France* and *England*; and that as soon as the Truce betwixt *Denmark* and *Sweden* expir'd, he would enter the last of these Kingdoms at the Head of his Army, to maintain his Right, and establish his Authority. He added, That he had Orders to assure him in His Master's Name, That His Majesty would entrust him with the Government during his Absence, and advance him to the same Post which the Arch-bishops of *Upsal* enjoy'd under the Reign of his Predecessors.

The haughty Prelate listen'd attentively to a Proposal that flatter'd his Ambition. He look'd upon the Kindness he had lately receiv'd from the *Administrator*, as a meer forc'd Condescention; and instead of loving and honouring him, as his Benefactor, he began to hate and suspect him as a secret and implacable Enemy of his Family, and one who was oblig'd by Interest to humble and oppose him. He fancy'd that he might aspire to the Authority which that Prince enjoy'd, and even that he might obtain it, by devoting himself entirely to the King of *Denmark*'s Service.

Having

Having conſider'd all the advantageous Conſequences of ſuch a Revolution, he repeated his Proteſtations to the *Envoy*, that he would imitae the moſt Zealous of his Predeceſſors in their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown of *Denmark*. But ſince he was not well acquainted with the preſent State of a Kingdom from which he had been ſo long abſent, 'twas reſolv'd and agreed upon betwixt them, that he ſhould ſpend ſome Time in reviving and increaſing the *Daniſh* Faction; and that the King ſhould from time to time ſend private Agents to take an account of the Strength and Condition of their Party, and to concert the ſureſt and moſt convenient Meaſures to put their Deſigns in Execution. 1515.

The *Daniſh* Envoy having finiſh'd his Negotiation return'd to his Maſter; and the Archbiſhop embark'd for *Sweden* with a full Reſolution to plot the Ruin of the Adminiſtrator.

Tho' that Prelate was educated at *Rome*, he had made but a ſlender Progreſs in the Arts of Subtilty and Diſſimulation, that are ſo induſtriouſly taught at that Court. He was naturally of a ſtiff and violent Temper, more Learned than Politick, proud of the Riches and Power of his Family, and abſolutely govern'd by his Humour. He was extremely Imperious and Haughty, and even incapable of Complaiſance: He hated his Superiors, could not endure his Equals, and ſlighted his Inferiors, among whom he reckon'd all thoſe who were not ſo Rich as himſelf. He was ſo far from regulating his Behaviour to the *Adminiſtrator* according to the Maxims of Policy, that he did not ſo much as obſerve the common Rules of Decency. He induſtriouſly avoided that Prince, who in an obliging manner came out of

1515. of his Palace to meet him; and as ſoon as he came aſhore, he went by Land to *Upſal*, without ſending any Compliment to the Adminiſtrator, as if he had forgot both his Dignity and Kindneſs.

He ſpent the firſt Days after his Arrival in receiving the Compliments of his Suffragans, and the Homage of his Clergy. His Relations and Friends, and the chief Perſons of the *Daniſh* Faction went to viſit him, ſome to congratulate his Advancement, and others to diſcover his Humour, and obſerve his Behaviour to the *Adminiſtrator*. In the mean time there was nothing to be ſeen at *Upſal* but Feaſting and Rejoycing, which laſted above a Month; for that young Prelate affected ſo extraordinary a Magnificence, and his Friends and the Creatures of his Family were ſo numerous, that he was attended with a Court, which in ſome meaſure obſcur'd that of his the Sovereign.

But they were not ſo wholly intent upon their Pleaſure, as to forget Politicks and Affairs of State. 'Twas during theſe Feaſts, and in the heat of an Entertainment, that the violent and impetuous Prelate began to diſcover his Diſſatisfaction. He complain'd to his Friends of the Injury which he pretended was done to his Father in the late Election; and even could not forbear ſaying publickly, That *Steno* would have had but few Voices, if the Election had been free. Afterwards he diſcours'd in private with the Biſhops to diſcover their Inclinations to the Government, and to know what Confidence he might place in their Aſſiſtance, if he ſhould be engag'd in any Deſign againſt the Adminiſtrator. He inſinuated, as if it were by way of common Diſcourſe, that 'twas to be fear'd the End of the Truce with *Denmark* would be the Biginning of a bloody War; that he was perſuaded *Chriſtiern* would leave no Means un-

unattempted to Re-aſtabliſh the Union of the Kingdoms upon the Foot of the Treaty of *Calmar*, notwithſtanding the Election of an *Adminiſtrator*; that he pity'd the miſerable Condition of his Country, which, in all probability, would be Sacrific'd to the Ambition of theſe two Princes; that he knew not what Side the Clergy ought to take, in caſe of an open Rupture; that 'twas true, the Office of the *Adminiſtrator* ſeem'd to be inſtituted for the Defence of the Nation, and the Preſervation of its Liberty; but that the Pretenſions of the Kings of *Denmark* were founded on a juſt Claim; and beſides, that thoſe Princes ſeem'd only to contend for the Title of Kings of *Sweden*, that they might entruſt the Clergy with the whole Care and Authority of the Government. 1515.

He added, that Time and their Advice would inſtruct him what Meaſures he ought to obſerve with the King of *Denmark*: But as for Prince *Steno*, he declar'd that he was ſo fully convinc'd of the violent and indirect Methods that were us'd in his Election, that he did not think the Clergy oblig'd to defend and ſupport the Dignity of the *Adminiſtrator* againſt the *Danes*, ſo long as that Prince was poſſeſt of it.

The Archbiſhop's Diſcourſe was receiv'd with an univerſal Applauſe by his Suffragans. They unanimouſly declar'd for the King of *Denmark*, and even ſome of the moſt violent of them were of Opinion, that they ought immediately to invite him to break the Truce, and ſurprize Prince *Steno*, whom they reckon'd an Uſurper; and that at the ſame Time each Prelate ſhould oblige the Towns and Caſtles, in their reſpective Juriſdictions, to own the Juſtice of the *Daniſh* Pretenſions. Others thought it neceſſary to put all Things in a Readineſs to favour

1515. vour the Invaſion, and without loſing Time to engage all their Friends and Vaſſals in the Deſign: and in the general all the Biſhops endeavour'd to outvie each other in expreſſing their Complaiſance to their Primate and an entire Reſignation to his Conduct, which they were the more willing to promiſe, becauſe the intended Invaſion was yet but an uncertain Project, and both the War and the Dangers that attend it ſeemed to be at a diſtance.

Afterwards the Arch-biſhop made it his Buſineſs to enquire into the Number and Strength of his Vaſſals. He ſent a Body of Soldiers to take Poſſeſſion of the Fort of *Steque*, which belong'd to the Archbiſhoprick, and furniſh'd it with Stores and Amunition, as if the War had been already declared. He obliged his Friends and Relations to give him new Aſſurances of their Aſſiſtance, and by his Magnificence and Liberality engaged a conſiderable Number of them to remain with him.

The Miſunderſtanding betwixt that Prelate and the *Adminiſtrator*, and the Preparations that were made by his Creatures and the reſt of the *Daniſh* Faction, gave occaſion to People to believe that the Kingdom would quickly be made the Scene of a Civil War. *Upſal* became the general Rendezvous of all the *Malecontents*, and of thoſe ſtragling *Adventurers*, who are always ready to offer their Service upon the firſt appearance of a Faction, and are afterwards as apt to deſert or betray their Party, as they are variouſly acted by Fear or Intereſt. They were extreamly well received by the Arch-biſhop, who heard with Pleaſure their Complaints againſt the Government, and ſeemed to be touched with a Scene of their Grievances. He endeavoured to expreſs his Diſſatisfaction by his Diſcourſe and all his Actions, that the diſatisfacted Party

Party might be encouraged to make their Addreſſes to him: but he carefully avoided every Thing that might give the People Occaſion to ſuſpect his Correſpondence with the *Danes*, who, he knew, were generally hated by the whole *Swediſh* Nation, except the Clergy. And therefore he took care to regulate his Behaviour in ſuch a manner, that his Hatred and Averſion againſt the *Adminiſtrator* might be thought to proceed from a private Quarrel betwixt the Two Families, in which the Eſtate was not at all concerned. 1515.

The *Adminiſtrator* was equally ſurprized and incenſed at the News of theſe Tranſactions. He perceived that the Arch-biſhop was preparing for a Rupture, and was ſo enrag'd at that Prelate's Ingratitude, that being naturally of an impatient and fiery Temper, he would have immediately marched againſt him at the Head of his Army, if his Council had not moderated his Fury. They told him that *Princes* muſt not proceed in ſuch Caſes like *private Perſons*; that his Anger and Reſentment would only ſerve to ſtrengthen the Arch-biſhop's Party, and augment the Number of the *Malecontents*; that he had to do with a People who were extremely jealous of their Liberty, and always ready to oppoſe the Attempts of their Sovereigns: and therefore they adviſed him to conceal his Indignation, and to endeavour to gain that Prelate by gentle and obliging Methods.

Steno ſubmitted to their Opinion, and under Pretext of taking a Journey to ſome Lands that belong'd to him, he paſs'd through *Upſal*, which lay directly in his Way, and is but Ten *Swediſh* Leagues from *Stockholm*. He alighted at the Arch-biſhop's Palace, and went to viſit him with all the Demonſtrations of Joy and an obliging Confidence that could be expreſs'd by a Prince who had reaſon to believe that his

1515. his Dignity and Kindneſs would procure him a hearty Welcom. After he had congratulated his happy Return to the Kingdom, he told him that he was extreamly glad that he had had an occaſion to contribute to his Advancement, and began to complain in a very kind and obliging manner that he had not yet appeared at the Court. And in the general he omitted no Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Civility that might appeaſe the Anger of that ſtubborn Prelate, and bring him back to a Senſe of his Duty.

The Arch-biſhop, who was both vex'd and ſurpriz'd at that Prince's Arrival, anſwered his Careſſes with a Conſtraint and Diſturbance that appear'd viſibly in all his Actions. However he entertained him with extraordinary Magnificence; but that was meerly an Effect of his Vanity, and deſigned rather to diſplay his Power and Riches, than to expreſs his Joy and Gratitude for the Honour the Adminiſtrator had done him. Nor could he forbear in the Heat of their Diſcourſe to reproach that Prince indirectly for uſing violent Methods, to obtain a Dignity which was only due to the Merits of his Father.

The *Adminiſtrator*, who was loath to quarrel with a Man whom he purpoſely came to oblige, began to juſtify his Election; but that haughty Prelate would not ſo much as condeſcend to hear his Reaſons, and told him with a great deal of Heat that the Time would come when a free *Convention of the Eſtates* would do Juſtice to his Father, and to all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the Government.

The Prince was equally ſurpriz'd at the Arch-biſhop's Threatnings, and incenſed at his Pride and Inſolency. He retir'd with a Reſolution to imploy

imploy all his Power and Intereſt to humble him; and leaſt the Court of *Rome*, which uſually takes hold of ſuch Occaſions to extend its Authority, under Pretext of protecting the Clergy, ſhould interpoſe in this Affair, the Adminiſtrator wrote to the Pope to complain of the Inſolence and ill Behaviour of that Prelate. 1515.

Not long after the Pope return'd an Anſwer full of kind and obliging Expreſſions. He blamed *Trolle* for his Turbulency and Ingratitude, and added that he had ſent Orders to his *Legat*, who was then at the Court of *Denmark*, to go immediately to *Sweden*, and in his Name to admoniſh the Archbiſhop of his Duty.

But notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious Pretences, the Inſtructions he gave to his *Legate* were intended rather for a Complement than a real Satisfaction: For though he ſeemed to blame the Arch-biſhop, he could not but rejoyce in his Heart that both he and the other Prelates of the Kingdom, whom the Court of *Rome* is wont always to look upon as her Subjects and Creatures, ſhould extend their Power, and aſſume a Share in the Government of the State. And beſides the Popes had always bore a ſecret Averſion to the Kings, and Sovereigns of *Sweden*, ſince thoſe Princes had diſcontinued the Payment of the Tribute uſually called St. *Peter's Pence*. 'Twas impos'd by King *Olaus* as a Tax upon all his Subjects, when the Chriſtian Religion was firſt introduced into the Kingdom. But moſt of his Succeſſors refuſed to ſubmit to an Impoſition, which was equally injurious both to the Prince and to the Subjects. *Ann.* 940. *Bazius Hiſt. Eccleſ. Suec. & Gotica.*

Several Popes had in vain demanded that Tribute; and even ſome of them had darted their uſual Thunders of *Excommunication*, but without making *Honorius* III. *John* XXII. *Innocent* VI. *Gregory* XI.

1515. ing the leaſt Impreſſion upon thoſe Princes: So that the Court of *Rome* was at laſt obliged to give over its ſucceſsleſs Attempts upon a People, whoſe Eyes were opened rather by *Policy* than *Learning*, and who by an early and unanimous Reſolution had ſhaken off the Fear of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. The *Adminiſtrator* was admoniſhed by his Council, who were acquainted with the Inclinations and Politicks of the Court of *Rome*, not to rely upon the Pope's Aſſiſtance in ſo dangerous a Juncture: Nor did he place ſo much Confidence in the Apoſtolical Letters, but at the ſame Time he took more effectual Meaſures for the Defence and Preſervation of his Authority.

He ſummoned a Meeting of the *Eſtates* at *Tellia*, under Pretext that the Truce with *Denmark* was ready to expire; but in effect to procure a new Confirmation of this Title and Authority, and at the ſame time to diſcover the Strength of the Archbiſhop's Party.

That Prelate, on the other hand, made it his Buſineſs to gain more *Friends* to the King of *Denmark*, and to raiſe new Enemies to the *Adminiſtrator*. He exacted freſh Aſſurances of Fidelity from thoſe of his Party, and even engaged the Governours of the Caſtles of *Stockholm* and *Nicopinc* in the *Daniſh* Faction. Afterwards he ſent a truſty Meſſenger to King *Chriſtiern*, to give him an Account of the preſent Poſture of Affairs, and of the Condition of his Party; and to intreat him to advance immediately at the Head of his Army, without ſtaying for the End of the Truce, which he might eaſily find ſeveral plauſible Pretexts to violate. And beſides he ordered his Agent to aſſure him, That the Government of the Caſtles of *Stockholm* and *Nicopinc* would declare in his Favour, and receive his Forces into the Places under their Command.

Chriſtiern

Chriſtiern, replied to theſe Solicitations, that it would not be ſufficient to break the Truce, unleſs the Eſtates of *Denmark* would contribute to the War againſt *Sweden*; that he was endeavouring to engage the principal Perſons of the Kingdom in that Deſign; that he believ'd he had already gain'd the Legate that was going to *Sweden*; that if the Negotiation of that Prelate ſhould not be attended with ſucceſs, he would take care to ſtart ſome difference betwixt the Two Nations, and puſh it on ſo far, that the Eſtates of *Denmark* ſhould be oblig'd to take up Arms in the defence of their Country. 1515.

In the mean time the Eſtates of *Sweden* Aſſembled at *Tellia*, where the Adminiſtrator had appointed 'em to meet, and he had the pleaſure to ſee that moſt of the Deputies were the ſame Perſons who had contributed moſt effectually to his Advancement. This encourag'd him to ſummon the Arch-biſhop to repair thither, in order to his qualifying himſelf for his Office, by taking the uſual Oath of Fidelity to the Eſtates. But that Prelate not daring to appear in an Aſſembly, where his Enemy had ſo ſtrong a Party, ſhut himſelf up in the Fort of *Steque*, which was a Caſtle ſeated on the top of a Hill, and equally fortify'd by Art and Nature. The Arch-biſhop of *Upſal* had taken all imaginable care to render it Impregnable, according to the Rules that were obſerv'd in thoſe Days; and beſides, it was ſufficiently ſecur'd by the privileges of a Clergy which made it an inviolable Sanctuary. The Arch-biſhop call'd a meeting of the Biſhops and others of his Faction, and the Aſſembly was held in that Caſtle, as if the Convention at *Tellia* had neither been free nor lawfully call'd. Thus both Parties were making preparations for an open Rupture, when *John Angelo Arcemboldi*, Pope *Leo* the Tenth's Legate in the Northern Kingdoms arriv'd in *Sweden*, and offered his

Joan. Magnus vit. Archiep. Upſal.

1515. his Mediation to negotiate an Agreement betwixt the Arch-bishop and the Administrator.

The Legate was of a smooth pliant Temper, extreamly Polite and Complaisant, and seem'd to make the getting of Mony his principal Business, and the main Object of his Desires. He pretended, among his other Commissions, to be intrusted with a full power to grant Licenses for the eating of *Flesh* on *Fish-days*, to those who would be at the charge of purchasing a dispensation. At the same time he distributed *Indulgences* to all those who would contribute a certain Sum for the Building of St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*. These new Projects for draining the People of their Mony were set on foot about that time, and carry'd a little too far by the Ministers of the Court of *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Leo* X. tho' perhaps without his Knowledge.

Arcemboldi, scrap'd together those profitable Incomes, with all the greediness of a Soldier that is sent to levy Contributions. He had fleec'd a part of *Denmark* under the protection of his Bulls, and not satisfy'd with the considerable Summs he had rais'd in that Kingdom, he put his Mony out to Interest, or imploy'd it in Merchandizing, when he was preparing for his departure to *Sweden*.

King *Christiern*, was extreamly dissatisfy'd with the Commission and Behaviour of that Legate, who under a Religious pretext drew all the Mony out of his Dominions; but he durst not express his displeasure. He could not hope to succeed in his design against *Sweden*, without the assistance of the Clergy, and he was afraid least they would become his Enemies, if he should quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. Thus he was forc'd to purchase the favour of that Prelate at the rate of exposing his Kingdom as a prey to his Avarice. He over-loaded him with Caresses and Obligations during his Abode in *Denmark*, and at his departure he receiv'd his last

laſt viſit with the higheſt Demonſtrations of Kind- 1515.
neſſes and Civility.

He pray'd him to imploy the Intereſt and Authority to which his Character entitl'd him for the Eſtabliſhment of a firm and laſting Peace betwixt the Two Kingdoms. He aſſur'd him that he was ready to conſent to any reaſonable expedients for the carrying on of ſo good a deſign, provided the *Swedes* would engage to put the Treaty of *Calmar* in execution. He added that neither the Civil Wars, nor the moſt ſucceſsful Rebellions could be ſuppos'd to make void the Obligation of ſo ſolemn a Treaty; that the Clergy and all the honeſt Party in the Kingdom look'd upon the Union that was agreed upon in that famous Aſſembly as the trueſt way to eſtabliſh a ſolid and durable Peace betwixt the Two Nations; and that this was the only fault which the Adminiſtrator could object againſt the Arch-biſhop. He pray'd the Legate to protect that Prelate from the unjuſt Rage of a raſh and inſolent Youth; and concluded that he hop'd he would put ſome difference betwixt a Captain of Rebels, and a Sovereign, whoſe Family had been always devoted to the Intereſt of the holy See.

The Legate was not ignorant that the Court of *Rome* was extreamly well pleas'd with the *Danes*, and very much diſſatisfy'd with the *Swedes*; and beſides he knew that King *Chriſtiern* was ally'd to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for which the Pope had an extraordinary reſpect: But the moſt prevailing Motive that engag'd him in that Prince's Service was the conſideration of the Mony he left in the Kingdom, and of that which he hop'd to get at his return, in ſome Provinces where he had not yet publiſh'd his *Indulgences*. He aſſur'd the King that he would proſecute his Deſigns with all imaginable Vigor and Zeal, and even inſinuated to him that he

1515. had secret orders to favour his pretensions and protect his Creatures, adding, that under the seeming Character of a Mediator, he would promote his Interest, and serve him with as much Fidelity and Affection as he could expect to find in his own Ministers.

The King of *Denmark* relying upon these Protestations discover'd his most secret designs, and talk'd to him with more freedom than a Prince ought to use with a Foreign Minister. He told him, that he was sure of the Castles of *Stockholm* and *Nicoping*, that all the Bishops were ready to receive him into the Places that were under their Command, and that the Arch-bishop of *Upsal* who manag'd the whole design would come over to his Army assoon as he should appear on the Frontiers of the Kingdom. He entreated the Legate to confer with that Prelate, if it were possible to keep any Correspondence with him without giving People occasion to suspect the design of their Conferences. He desir'd him also to concert with the Arch-bishop the surest and most convenient Methods to put their project in Execution.

The Legate left *Denmark* with these Instructions, and as soon as he arriv'd at the Court of *Sweden*, he publickly exhorted the Administrator and the Senate in the Pope's Name to conclude a firm and lasting Peace with *Denmark*. Some Days after he demanded a private Audience of the Administrator, in which he intreated that Prince to grant the honour of his Friendship to the Arch-bishop, and not to disturb that Prelate in the possession of a dignity which the Pope conferr'd upon him meerly at his Recommendation. *Steno* reply'd in few Words, and with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, that he would always receive his Holiness's desires with Submission and Respect, and have an honourable regard for the Person of his Legate; but withal

withal he told him, that he ought in the firſt place to offer his Advice and Admonitions to the Archbiſhop, who, he aſſur'd him, might enjoy his Dignity without the leaſt diſturbance or moleſtation, if he would return to a Sence of his Duty. 1515.

The Legate who only waited for an occaſion to enter upon the Subject of his Negotiation, told the Prince that he had receiv'd orders from the Pope to offer and conſult about the beſt expedients for bringing the difference betwixt him and the Archbiſhop to an amicable agreement, and for eſtabliſhing a firm and durable Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and that he perceiv'd that the latter could hardly be accompliſh'd without the former. He pray'd him to accept the mediation of the Holy See, he exhorted him to prefer a ſolid Peace before the uncertain chance of War, which perhaps would not be equally agreeable to all the Eſtates of the Kingdom, and would make him odious even to the Nobility and Commons, if it ſhould happen to be prolong'd beyond their Expectation, or if they ſhould be diſappointed of their hope of Succeſs.

This diſcourſe and the care the Legate took to confound the Arch-biſhop's Affair with the King of *Denmark*'s pretenſions, made the Adminiſtrator ſuſpect the Intentions of that Prelate, who he concluded was gain'd by his Enemies, and acquainted with all their Deſigns. He knew how much it was his Intereſt to diſcover the bottom of their project; but 'twas not an eaſie Task for a young *Swediſh* Prince to pump a Secret out of an *Italian* Prelate, who had been train'd up in the Art of Diſſimulation in the Court of *Rome*. And therefore inſtead of endeavouring to unriddle the myſtery by overreaching that crafty Miniſter in an Art of which he was an abſolute Maſter, he reſolv'd to attack

1515. him on the weak ſide; and in purſuance of that deſign, he intreated him, by the advice of the Senate, to diſtribute his *Indulgences* in the Kingdom, aſſuring him that during that time he would take ſuch meaſures as might be conducive to the publick good, and agreeable to the Inclinations of the Holy Father.

This contrivance had all the ſucceſs that could be deſir'd: The Legate was extreamly glad of ſo favourable an opportunity of continuing his gainful Trade with ſo fair a proſpect of Advantage, which was the only deſign of his Legation to the Northern Countries. He was afraid that if the Two Nations ſhould come to an open Rupture, 'twould be impoſſible for him to purſue his Commiſſion in *Sweden*, and that the tumultuous confuſion of War would deprive him of the Profits of his Miſſion, for which 'twas thought he had advanc'd a conſiderable Sum to the Apoſtolical Chamber. And therefore as ſoon as he had obtain'd the conſent of the Adminiſtrator and Senate, he publiſh'd his Bulls through the whole Kingdom, and his Officers took care to diſperſe 'em through all the Provinces. Thoſe under-Collectors, or Licens'd Beggars whom he carry'd about with him, were certain Perſons who had farm'd the right of publiſhing his Bulls, and were oblig'd to purchaſe their Leaſes for a conſiderable Sum of Mony. 'Twas always his Cuſtom to agree with the higheſt bidder, without regarding the qualifications of thoſe mercenary Preachers, provided they could give him ſufficient Security for the payment of his Mony.

The Adminiſtrator, either out of Policy or Devotion, ſeem'd very deſirous of obtaining theſe *Indulgences*. He was very liberal on that occaſion; and in imitation of his example the Senators and all the Nobility laid out conſiderable Sums of Mo-

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ny on theſe Commodities. The common People who are uſually the beſt Cuſtomers at ſuch Markets, emptied their Pockets to ſecure their Souls: Every one was willing to contribute to the pious Deſign, and even the wildeſt Debauchees ſeem'd to grow fond of the modiſh Devotion, which the Adminiſtrator had brought into faſhion, and were eaſily perſwaded to ſubmit to a pennance that tended only to mortifie their Purſes. 1515.

Arcemboldi amaſs'd a prodigious Treaſure in *Sweden*, and the Adminiſtrator ſuffer'd him to export the Mony in *Specie*, without paying any Cuſtoms or Duties. This was a very conſiderable favour; for all the Princes of *Germany* exacted a third part of the Profits of the *Indulgences* that were publiſh'd in their Dominions. And as a further mark of his kindneſs, he ſent ſeveral Magnificent Preſents to the Legate, and among the reſt a conſiderable quantity of rich Furs, and a very large Table of maſſy Silver. *Vit. Archi-Ep. Upſal Joan. Magni.*

The Adminiſtrator imagining that he had abſolutely gain'd the Legate by ſo many obliging Demonſtrations of his Favour, and by the richneſs of his Preſents, ſome time after took an occaſion to diſcourſe with him in private. After he had complain'd of the Arch-biſhop's Ingratitude, he told the Legate that he had receiv'd a full information of that Prelate's pernicious Deſigns, and that he was reſolv'd either to bring him to a Senſe of his Duty, or to make him leave the Kingdom. *Arcemboldi* was ſo charm'd with that Prince's liberality that he acknowledg'd the Juſtice of his reſolution, and even could not forbear diſcovering the King of *Denmark*'s Secret. He thought his Conſcience oblig'd him to beſtow his Favours, where he receiv'd the moſt bountiful returns, and perhaps was afraid that the Adminiſtrator was already acquainted with the Inſtructions he had receiv'd from the King of *Denmark*,

1515. *mark*, and would ſtop the Mony he had rais'd in the Kingdom, if he ſhould ſtill continue to conceal ſo dangerous a Secret. Reſolving then to make the beſt advantage of a diſcovery which perhaps he could not prevent, he gave the Prince a full account of the King of *Denmark*'s Deſigns, of the Correſpondence he entertain'd with the *Swediſh* Clergy, and of the Infidelity of the Governors of the Caſtles of *Stockholm* and *Nicoping*.

Yet for his own Security he made the Adminiſtrator promiſe to carry on his Deſign with ſo much prudence and caution, that the Arch-biſhop might not have the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect that he had betray'd King *Chriſtiern*'s Secret. At his Return to *Denmark*, he ſeem'd to be extreamly afflicted with the ill Succeſs of his Negotiation. He told the King that the Adminiſtrator was ſo exaſperated againſt the Arch-biſhop, that there was no hope of a ſpeedy Reconciliation; that in his Opinion that Prelate was an obſtacle to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Treaty of *Calmar*; that he kept himſelf conſtantly ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Steque*, from whence he ſeem'd to threaten the Adminiſtrator with a Civil War; that he did not think it convenient to go thither, leaſt *Steno* ſhould have ſuſpected his Deſign; that the Adminiſtrator was poſſeſs'd with an extraordinary Averſion againſt the Perſon of that Prelate; and that he had Reaſon to believe that though 'twere poſſible to prevail with the Prince to reſign his Dignity, he would never be perſwaded to conſent to that Propoſal, while he thought it might prove advantageous to his Enemy.

The King of *Denmark* perceiving the ill Succeſs of the Legate's Negotiation, concluded that he could never make himſelf Maſter of *Sweden* but at the Head of a powerful Army. He conſider'd alſo that

that the Truce was not yet expir'd, and that he could not begin the War without the Conſent and Approbation of the Eſtates of *Denmark*: and therefore he gave private Orders to his Admiral to affront the firſt *Swediſh* Ships he ſhould meet with, not doubting but that the Adminiſtrator would endeavour to revenge ſuch an Indignity, by way of Reprizal or Retaliation, either by Land or Sea, which would oblige the Eſtates and Senate of *Denmark* to declare War againſt *Sweden*. 1515.

In the mean time the Adminiſtrator took all poſſible Care to fruſtrate the Deſigns of his Enemies; and reſolved to make the beſt Improvement of the Legate's Diſcovery without betraying his Secret. He inform'd the Senate that ſeveral Perſons in the Kingdom were engag'd in a Conſpiracy againſt the State, and that the Governours of *Stockholm* and *Nicoping* had betray'd their Truſt, and were ready to receive the Enemies into the Places which they commanded. The Senate was alarm'd at the News of ſo black a Deſign, and pray'd him to ſecure the Traytors. He pretended to take a Review of the Gariſon of *Nicoping*, and as ſoon as the Governour and Soldiers came out of the Fort he order'd a new Gariſon to take Poſſeſſion of the Place, under the Command of a Governour who was abſolutely devoted to his Intereſt. At the ſame time he gave Orders to arreſt the Governour of the Caſtle of *Stockholm*, who attended at Court according to his uſual Cuſtom. Then he call'd a Meeting of the Eſtates at *Weſteras*, the capital City of *Weſtmannia*, where thoſe Two Governours were accus'd of contriving and abetting a treaſonable Deſign againſt their Country, and Commiſſioners were appointed to try them. The Fear of Puniſhment and the Hope of a Pardon made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion upon them, that they confeſs'd their Deſign to deliver up theſe Places to the *Septemb.* 1516.

1515. the King of *Denmark*, and accuſed the Archbiſhop as the Author and Fomenter of the Conſpiracy.

The Adminiſtrator having this Advantage over him, reſolv'd to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt Rigour; and in order to his Conviction order'd him to be ſummon'd to give an Account of his Behaviour to the Eſtates. Some of the Senators who were ſenſible of the dangerous Tendency of theſe Diviſions, and dreaded the fatal Conſequences of an open Rupture, endeavour'd under-hand to perſwade the Archbiſhop to ſubmit to the Adminiſtrator, and even offer'd him a ſafe Conduct ſign'd by the principal Members of the Eſtates, hoping to divert the threatning Storm, and to gain that ſtubborn Prelate by eaſy and gentle Methods.

The Arch-biſhop was enrag'd to find that his Deſigns were blaſted by too early a Diſcovery: he complain'd to his Friends of the King of *Denmark*'s Remiſneſs and Neglect, and immediately ſent one of his Creatures to that Prince to acquaint him with the Danger to which his Party in *Sweden* was expos'd, and to haſten his March to that Kingdom. In the mean time to amuſe the Senate, he deſir'd that a new Convention of the Eſtates might be ſummon'd, under Pretext that the greateſt part of the Deputies that compos'd the Aſſembly at *Weſteras* were either the Creatures or Relations of his declar'd Enemy.

The Eſtates were ſo incens'd at the Pride and Obſtinacy of that rebellious Prelate, that they reſolv'd to ſecure his Perſon and bring him to a Trial. They intreated the Adminiſtrator to inveſt the Place where he reſided; and at the ſame time Orders were given out to apprehend his Father, and ſuch of his Friends and Relations as were ſuſpected to be privy to his Deſigns againſt the Government, or might be ſuppos'd to be able and willing to take up

up Arms in his Defence. And ſince they foreſaw that theſe Proceedings would infallibly occaſion a Rupture with the King of *Denmark*, the Adminiſtrator was deſir'd to raiſe the Militia, and to put the Kingdom in ſuch a Poſture, that it might not be in danger to be ſurpriz'd by its Enemies. 1516.

Thus the Breach betwixt the Arch-biſhop and the Eſtates gave the Prince an Occaſion to revenge a private Quarrel, under the plauſible Pretext of puniſhing a publick Enemy; and that he might not loſe ſo favourable an Opportunity, he gave Orders immediately for a general Rendezvous of all the Nobility and Militia of the Kingdom. His Friends and Relations repair'd to his Aſſiſtance at the Head of their Forces, every one ſtriving to ſignalize his Fidelity to his Country, and Affection to the Prince, in a War that was undertaken to maintain his Election, and defend the Liberty of the Nation.

Among all the Noblemen who aſſiſted the Adminiſtrator on this Occaſion, there was none who expreſſed a more vigorous Zeal for his Intereſt than *Guſtavus Ericſon*, the Great Standard-Bearer of the Crown, a young Lord about Six and Twenty Years of Age, deſcended from the ancient Kings of *Sweden*, and particularly from King *Canutſon*, who was his great Uncle. He was the Son of *Eric Vaſa*, Governour of *Finland*, and Couſin-Germain to the Adminiſtrator, with whom he was educated. He had naturally a high and daring Spirit, his Soul was poſſeſs'd with an eager Deſire of Glory, and infinitely more ſenſible of the manly Delights of Ambition, than of the ſofter Charms of Pleaſure. The Adminiſtrator divided his Favour and Confidence betwixt him and his Father; but the Old Age of that Senator, and a certain Timorouſneſs that appear'd in all his Actions, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Prince, that though he

1516. he did not eſteem him leſs for theſe Diſadvantages, he took more Pleaſure in *Guſtavus*, who with an equal Solidity of Judgment was Maſter of more Courage and Strength of Mind, and never propos'd any Deſigns or Expedients but what were ſuitable to the Bravery, and agreeable to the Inclinations of his young Maſter.

'Twas by his Advice that the Prince reſolv'd to give Fire-Arms to the Peaſants, who till then had only, or for the moſt part, made uſe of Bows and Arrows, The Adminiſtrator order'd a conſiderable Number of Muskets to be bought at *Lubeck*, and put on board a Ship, which ſet ſail immediately for *Stockholm*, but was taken by the *Daniſh* Admiral as ſhe came out of the Mouth of the *Trave*, which paſſes by *Lubeck*. This Act of Hoſtility ſerv'd for a Declaration and Signal of a bloody War, which began betwixt the Two Nations, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by the Eſtates of *Denmark*, who were deſirous to continue the True.

The Adminiſtrator was not ſo diſcourag'd by this Loſs as to give over the Deſign he had form'd againſt the Archbiſhop. He put himſelf at the Head of the Militia, or Infantry, which was the moſt numerous Body in his Army, and gave the Command of the Horſe to *Guſtavus*. The Biſhops of *Stregnez* and *Lincoping* march'd before, under Pretext of interpoſing their Intereſt and Mediation, to bring their Primate to a Senſe of his Duty; but their real Deſign was to give him Notice of the Strength and Condition of the Adminiſtrator's Forces. For tho' theſe Prelates were engag'd both by Intereſt and Inclination in the *Daniſh* Faction, as well as the Archbiſhop, they were more politick and cunning, and took care to conceal their real Sentiments, the Diſcovery of which could neither be advantageous to their Party, nor ſafe for them-

themſelves, at a time when the whole Nation was in Arms for the Adminiſtrator. At their Arrival at *Steque* they intreated the Archbiſhop to excuſe them for not declaring againſt the Adminiſtrator, according to their Agreement at *Upſal*, aſſuring him that they only waited till the King of *Denmark* ſhould enter the Kingdom to ſupport them. They adviſ'd him to reflect upon the Power and Strength of that Prince, who in few Days would appear before the Walls of his Caſtle at the Head of a numerous Army, and concluded with telling him, that 'twould be an Action worthy his Prudeuce to divert the impending Storm, and amuſe the young Prince with a ſeeming Submiſſion, from which he might eaſily diſengage himſelf, as ſoon as they ſhould meet with a more favourable Juncture to put their Deſigns in Execution. 1516.

The Archbiſhop rejected the Advice of his politick Suffragans with Anger and Diſdain, and chid them for their Weakneſs, which he branded with the Names of *Treaſon* and *Cowardice*. He told them he had received Advice by an Envoy from *Denmark* that *Chriſtiern* was preparing to invade *Sweden* with all his Forces; that his Fleet was fitted out, and ready to make a Deſcent; that the Adminiſtrator was not in a Condition to oppoſe ſo potent an Enemy; that he hop'd in a little Time to ſee the King of *Denmark* ſeated on the *Swediſh* Throne, and that they had reaſon to fear that he would be revenged on his falſe Friends as well as on his declar'd Enemies. The Biſhops finding that their Remonſtrances ſerved only to exaſperate their fierce and ſtubborn Primate, retir'd to give place to the Adminiſtrator's Army, which at the ſame time appear'd before the Caſtle.

The Prince hop'd to carry the Place before the *Danes* could be able to make a Diverſion, but he had ſcarce open'd the Trenches when he was inform'd

1516. form'd that the Enemy had made a Deſcent near *Stockholm*, and were deſtroying the Country with Fire and Sword. Upon this Advice he divided his Army, and leaving the Infantry to guard the Lines, he march'd with the Cavalry towards the Enemy, accompany'd with *Guſtavus*, and follow'd by all the *Swediſh* Youth, who long'd for an Occaſion to ſignalize their Courage under the Command and in the Preſence of their Prince.

Auguſt 1517. The Adminiſtrator met the *Danes* near the Caſtle of *Wedel*, and *Guſtavus* was the firſt who charg'd them at the Head of a Squadron. The Action was very bloody, and the Victory was for ſome Time diſputed on both ſides with all the Obſtinacy which is uſually obſerv'd in thoſe firſt Encounters, on the Event of which the Honour of the Nation and the Succeſs of the Campaign ſeems to depend. But at laſt the *Daniſh* Troops were defeated, and the greateſt part of them cut to pieces; thoſe who had the good Fortune to eſcape made a diſorderly Retreat to their Ships, and retir'd to *Denmark*.

The Prince aſcrib'd all the Glory of this important Action to *Guſtavus*, who, after he had attack'd the Enemies with a great deal of Vigour, ran into the midſt of 'em with his Sword in his Hand, and purſu'd 'em to their Veſſels, without giving them Time to rally. 'Twas upon this Occaſion that the Prince began to conſider him as an uſeful Perſon, whom before he had only lov'd as an agreeable Companion. He admir'd the ſurprizing Genius of that young Lord, his eager Inclination to War, his Courage, Valour, and above all the extraordinary Preſence of Mind he had ſhewn in the firſt Eſſay of his Arms. He was the beſt Judge of ſuch Qualities as theſe, and naturally inclined to prefer them before other Endowments, and conſequently they made a ſtronger and more laſting Impreſſion upon his Mind.

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After ſo conſiderable a Succeſs, the Prince led back his Victorious Troops to the Siege of *Steque*. The Arch-biſhop was extreamly alarm'd at the News of the intire defeat and flight of the *Danes*, who abandon'd him to the mercy of his Enemies; for he imagin'd that the King of *Denmark* would have taken more effectual meaſures to ſupport and relieve him. The Biſhops, and the reſt of his Party were ſo over-aw'd by the Prince's power that they durſt not declare againſt him, and even thoſe who were moſt ſuſpected were either ſecur'd, or driven out of the Places that were under their Command. In the mean time the Beſiegers carry'd on their Works to the foot of the Wall: But tho' the Arch-biſhop was not able to make a longer reſiſtance, the natural Pride and fierceneſs of his Temper, and his implacable averſion againſt the Adminiſtrator would not ſuffer him to condeſcend to a Treaty. He defended the Caſtle for ſome Days with all the fury and obſtinacy of a deſperate Man, who reſolves to bury himſelf under the ruins of the Walls that encloſe him: But the Officers of the Garriſons were of another Opinion, and fearing to be treated as Rebels if the Place ſhould be ſtorm'd, and they found in Arms againſt their Prince and Country, forc'd their haughty Governour to Capitulate. 1517.

He deſir'd to treat with the Adminiſtrator in Perſon, and offer'd to come to his Tent provided *Guſtavus* ſhould be deliver'd as a Hoſtage. *Steno* conſented to that Propoſal, and *Guſtavus* enter'd the Caſtle at the ſame time that the Arch-biſhop came out of it in order to attend the Adminiſtrator. But he was ſo ſcar'd with a Sence of his guilt, that he durſt neither rely upon the Exchange, nor the Faith of a Treaty, which is reckon'd an inviolable Security according to the Law of Nations. And therefore knowing how dear *Guſtavus* was to the Prince, that

1515. that he might at leaſt have the pleaſure to taſt the cruel delights of Revenge, he left Orders with the Officers of the Garriſon, to cauſe the Lord to be hang'd on the Battlements of the Caſtle, if they ſhould receive advice that the Adminiſtrator treated him as a Priſoner.

When he came before the Prince he ask'd leave to Capitulate, with as much Confidence as if he had been defending the Place, for the Service of his Country, againſt the publick Enemies of the Nation. But the Adminiſtrator, deſiring that the obſtinacy of that Prelate might be reputed a Crime againſt the State, and a downright Rebellion, refus'd to enter into a Treaty, and in the name and behalf of the Eſtates of *Sweden*, requir'd, that a Garriſon might be put into the Caſtle. He told the Arch-biſhop that 'twas the Senate's buſineſs to give Judgment concerning his behaviour; and to regulate the Conditions of the Treaty; adding, that he would not appear in the Senate till they had decided that Affair; and that he would neither be his *Friend* nor his *Judge*, ſince he refus'd to acknowledge his Authority.

The Arch-biſhop, who was ſtill as haughty and inſolent as ever, imagin'd that the Adminiſtrator, notwithſtanding his ſeeming Reſolution, referr'd the deciſion of their difference to the Senate, on purpoſe that ſome of the Members of that illuſtrious Body might offer their mediation in order to a friendly agreement. Upon this Conſideration he ſurrender'd the Caſtle to the Prince, and having obtain'd a ſafe Conduct or Protection, took Journey to *Stockholm*, accompany'd with a numerous Train of his Followers, and attended with as magnificent an Equipage, as if he had triumph'd over all his Enemies. He fancy'd that his Intereſt with the King of *Denmark* would ſtrike ſuch a Terror into his Judges, that they would think themſelves abundantly

bundantly ſatisfy'd by his pretending to be Innocent; concluding that they would look upon his Revolt, as a private quarrel betwixt him and the Adminiſtrator, occaſion'd by the jealouſie of the Government, and would expect no other Satisfaction, than a bare acknowledgment of that Prince's Authority. 1517.

But he was quickly made ſenſible of his Error, and of the vanity of his Airy Hopes; for as ſoon as he arriv'd at *Stockholm*, they began to proceed againſt him with Vigor. The Senate finding that they might ſafely rely upon the aſſiſtance of the Adminiſtrator, who was ſtill at the Head of his Army, gave judgment againſt that Prelate; and the Biſhops of *Lincoping*, *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, who were Members of that Body, were oblig'd to ſubmit to the plurality of Voices, and to ſubſcribe his Condemnation, for fear of being ſuſpected and proſecuted as Favourers and Abettors of his Rebellion. He was declar'd an Enemy to his Country, and 'twas ordain'd by the Senate that he ſhould immediately reſign his Title to the Arch-biſhoprick, that he ſhould retire to a Monaſtery to do Pennance for all the Diſturbances his Ambition had rais'd in the Kingdom; that the Fort of *Steque* which had encourag'd the *Danes* to invade *Sweden*, and under the former Arch-biſhops had been always made a Sanctuary and Retiring-place for Rebels and diſaffected Perſons, ſhould be demoliſh'd, that publick Thanks ſhould be given to the Adminiſtrator, for his Diligence in ſtifling the Rebellion; and that the whole Kingdom ſhould unanimouſly concur to maintain the Authority of that Prince, and the Decree of the Senate, in caſe the Pope thro' miſ-information or prejudice, ſhould endeavour to reſtore the Arch-biſhop.

1517. This Decree was enter'd in the publick Registers, Sign'd by all the Senators, Spiritual and Temporal; and in Execution of these Orders, the Fort of *Steque* was demolish'd, and the Arch-bishop forc'd to renounce his Dignity. He deliver'd his Resignation in full Senate, to be transmitted to the Pope; but at the same time, he sent one of his Creatures to *Rome*, to complain of these violent Proceedings, and to beg the Protection of the Holy See.

The King of *Denmark* engag'd all his Friends at the Court of *Rome*, to employ their Interest to support and defend that Prelate, whose Abdication had blasted all his Designs, and ruin'd his Party in *Sweden*. He was rather irritated than discourag'd at the defeat of his Forces, and made new Levies to invade *Sweden*, during the next Campaign; for the Estates of *Denmark* thought themselves oblig'd to revenge the loss they sustain'd at *Wedel*. He sent to *Muscovy* to sollicite the *Czar* to declare against the Administrator, and endeavour'd to prevail with the Pope, to joyn his Ecclesiastical Thunders to the Forces with which he design'd to attack that Prince.

His importunity and the Arch-bishop's Complaints made so great an impression upon the Pope, that he order'd his Legate *Arcemboldi*, who was still in *Denmark*, to return immediately to *Sweden*, and require the Administrator to put the Arch-bishop in possession of his Office and Dignity upon pain of Excommunication. The Legate, at his arrival in *Sweden*, employ'd all his Interest and Rhetorick to perswade that Prince to give the Pope Satisfaction. He represented to him in private, with an Ingenuity and Freedom that were not suitable to his Character, but seem'd to be the Effects of their former Friendship and a requital of the Administrator's Kindness, that the Anger and Dissatisfaction of the Court of *Rome* were terrible to the greatest Monarchs; that he ought

ought to dread and avoid the fatal Conſequences of an Excommunication; that in ſuch a Caſe, the People as well as the Clergy would forſake him: That even his Friends and moſt devoted Creatures, would hardly venture to incur the Cenſure and Indignation of the Church; that ſince both his Honour and Revenge was ſatisfy'd by the Arch-biſhop's Reſignation, he had a fair opportunity to lay an Obligation upon the Holy See, and that the Pope would by that means be engag'd to be ſurety for that Prelate's good Behaviour. 1517.

The Adminiſtrator communicated the Pope's Meſſage to the Senate, and acquainted them both with his Deſires and Menaces. The Biſhops of *Lincoping*, *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, who had been forc'd to ſign the Arch-biſhop's Sentence, ſeconded the Legate's Propoſal with a great deal of Vigour, but were unanimouſly oppos'd by the Lay-Senators, who were the moſt powerful and numerous part of the Aſſembly. They told the Adminiſtrator, that he ought not to be ſcar'd at the Thunders of the *Vatican*, ſince their Strength and Efficacy depended meerly upon the Weakneſs and Credulity of thoſe againſt whom they were pointed; that the Contrivances and Machinations of the Court of *Rome* were always cover'd with a Religious Diſguiſe; that Scorn and Contempt was the beſt Security againſt ſuch Menaces; that the Pope was incens'd againſt 'em for denying his Tribute, and that the King of *Denmark*, in Conjunction with *Leo* X. ſollicited the Reſtauration of a Rebel, to his former Power and Dignity, that he might afterwards by his Aſſiſtance, make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom.

Steno by their Advice, anſwer'd the Legate, that he could not imagine what motives ſhould induce the Pope to undertake the defence of a Traytor, who was ſeiz'd in actual Rebellion againſt his Country, and deſerv'd to be puniſh'd with Death, for holding

1517. Intelligence with the Enemies of the Nation; that his Character and Dignity could not be ſuppos'd to protect him from the juſt Indignation of his injur'd Sovereign; that his Judges thought they had pronounc'd a very favourable Sentence againſt him, by condemning him only to perpetual Impriſonment; that his Brethren of the Clergy had Sign'd his Condemnation, and that his Judgment could not be reverſed without expoſing the Kingdom to new and fatal Diſorders.

The Experience he had formerly had of the Legate's Temper, made him reſolve to ſtrengthen theſe Reaſons with a more prevailing and demonſtrative Argument; and therefore after he had ſoftned him with ſeveral conſiderable Preſents, he offered him the Arch-biſhoprick of *Upſal*, and engaged to obtain a Decree of the Eſtates in his Favour, impowering him to hold that Benefice, during his Life, without being obliged to reſide in the Kingdom.

The Legate was ſo dazled with the tempting proſpect of filling his Coffers with the Revenues of ſo fat a Benefice, that he forgot his Commiſſion, and thought he might plead a ſufficient excuſe for neglecting to execute the Orders he had receiv'd from the Pope. He embraced the alluring Propoſal with Joy, and in Teſtimony of his Gratitude to his Benefactor, he approv'd all that he had done, and publickly blam'd the Arch-biſhop. He wrote to *Rome* againſt that Prelate, and aſſured the Pope, that he had juſtly drawn upon himſelf the Indignation of the Adminiſtrator and Eſtates of *Sweden*, by rebelling againſt his Country. At the ſame time he ſollicited all his Friends to imploy their Intereſt with the Holy Father, to procure a Confirmation of the Sentence pronounced againſt that Prelate, and leave to appear a Candidate at the approaching Election. But the Pope rejected his Requeſt, and abſolutely refuſed to grant the Permiſſion that was required to

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qualifie him for that Dignity; either out of regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the King of *Denmark*, who declared in favour of the Arch-biſhop, or as a mark of his juſt reſentment for the Offence he had given by his ſcandalous way of diſtributing Indulgences in the North. 1517.

Upon the Adminiſtrators refuſal to reſtore the Arch-biſhop, the Pope diſcharged his Thunders againſt the whole Kingdom, and particularly againſt the Adminiſtrator and Senate, whom he Excommunicated. Beſides he ordered 'em to rebuild the Fort of *Steque* at their own Charge, and to pay a Hundred Thouſand Ducats as a Fine to the Arch-biſhop. The Bull was directed to *Theodore* Arch-biſhop of *Lunden* in *Denmark*, and the Biſhop of *Odenſee* in *Fuenen*, who at King *Chriſtiern*'s ſollicitation were entruſted with the care of publiſhing it: And that Prince was deſired to put it in Execution, and to treat the diſobedient *Swedes* as Excommunicated Perſons and obſtinate Schiſmaticks.

The ſuddenneſs of ſo terrible a blow ſurpriz'd all *Europe*, and the *Swedes* were extreamly offended at the laſt Article of the Bull which committed the Execution of it to the King of *Denmark*. They ſaid that it did not become the common Father of *Chriſtendom* to ſide with either of the contending Parties, much leſs to make uſe of his Power which was altogether Spiritual, to protect a Rebel and a Traytor, and to authorize a Prince, who endeavour'd to make himſelf Maſter of their Liberties and Fortunes. The Senate iſſu'd out a ſtrict Order prohibiting all Perſons to give Obedience to the Bull under ſevere penalties: And the Adminiſtrator took all poſſible care to put himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the *Daniſh* Army, without which he was not much afraid of all the Thunders of the *Vatican*.

The Legate perceiving that 'twould be ſcandalous to reſide longer at the Court of a Prince whom his

1518. Master had Excommunicated; was forc'd to leave *Sweden* and to relinquish his expectation of the Archbishoprick of *Upsal*. At his return to *Denmark* he found King *Christiern* drawing his Forces together in order to his Expedition against *Sweden*. As soon as that Prince receiv'd the Pope's Bull, he enter'd into *May.* that Kingdom at the Head of his Army, and immediately began to destroy the Countrey with Fire and Sword, to stun the *Swedes* with terrible Apprehensions of his vengeance. But at the same time to give some colour of Justice and Religion to those Barbarities which he committed purely out of Revenge, he caus'd the Bull to be solemnly affix'd in all the Places where he left the marks of his Fury, as if he had only come with a design to Execute the Pope's Orders.

Some time after he sate down with all his Forces before *Stockholm*, hoping that the Terror of his Arms, the Consternation of the Citizens, and especially the fear of Excommunication would occasion some Tumult that might be improv'd to his Advantage: But the Governor and Magistrates of the City took such effectual measures to keep the People in order, that there was not the least appearance of any disturbance. The Inhabitants were possest with so strong an aversion against the *Danes*, that they resolved to defend the Town to the last extremity; and the Burghers mingl'd with the Soldiers of the Garrison made frequent and furious Sallies. The Besiegers found every where an incredible resistance: Every Foot of Ground which they gain'd cost 'em the Lives of a great number of their Men; and they were oftentimes beaten out of those Posts in the Day, which they had surpriz'd during the obscurity of the Night. The Garrison made a continual Fire which did a great deal of Execution; and besides the *Danes* suffer'd extreamly for want of necessary Provisions.

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The King was advis'd by his Officers to retire, before the *Swedes* came up, who were upon their march to relieve the Town: But he was ſo incens'd againſt the Burghers for their vigorous reſiſtance, that he reſolv'd obſtinately to continue the Siege. In the mean time the Adminiſtrator was putting himſelf in a condition to march againſt the Enemy with all the Forces of the Kingdom. The whole Nation took the Alarm, and ran to Arms with an incredible Ardor: Every Man thought himſelf concern'd in the defence of the common cauſe, and all the Provinces of the Kingdom ſeem'd to be animated with a Spirit of Revenge and Fury. Thus inſtead of an Army of Regulated Troops the Adminiſtrator ſaw himſelf at the Head of a vaſt Body of Tumultuary Forces who without waiting for Orders took up Arms for the preſervation of their Liberty. The whole Country was overſpread with ſwarms of Peaſants who came flocking to the general Rendezvous, ſome deſcending from the Mountains, and others running out of the Woods. Moſt of theſe Savage Warriors were Cloath'd with the Skins of Wild Beaſts, and arm'd after a very odd and even ridiculous manner: But they were inſpir'd with a certain undaunted Fury, that ſupply'd the Place of bravery, and made 'em reſolve to ſpend the laſt drop of their Blood in the defence of their Country. 1518.

The Adminiſtrator having aſſembl'd all his Forces, march'd ſtraight towards the King of *Denmark*, who fearing to be inclos'd betwixt the *Swediſh* Army and the City, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to his Ships. But the *Swedes* taking advantage of the motion his Troops were obliged to make in order to their Retreat, charg'd 'em ſo vigorouſly, that the Rear of the *Daniſh* Army was almoſt entirely defeated. They fled to the ſhore with ſo much precipitation and diſ- *July.*

1518. order, that the greateſt part of 'em were cut to Pieces; and many of thoſe who eſcap'd the Fury of the purſuers were drown'd in attempting to ſwim to their Veſſels. The *Swedes* made themſelves Maſters of all the Baggage, and took above Three Hundred Priſoners, who for the moſt part were Officers and Perſons of Note that halted to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Enemy while the Soldiers were imbarking, and with the loſs of their liberty, preſerved the King himſelf and the greateſt part of his Army.

But this was not the only Misfortune which attended that diſaſtrous Expedition; for the *Danes* were detained above three Months in the Road of *Stockholm* by contrary Winds, and at laſt were ſo ſtraiten'd for want of Proviſions that they were forced to make frequent Deſcents to ſupply their Neceſſities. But they were perpetually repuls'd by the *Swediſh* Cavalry, under the command of the brave *Guſtavus*, who was always in motion, and obliged 'em to retire with precipitation to their Ships. His Courage and Vigilancy produc'd ſo good an effect, that the *Daniſh* Fleet was reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity: They had neither Water nor Victuals, and there was a great mortality among the Soldiers. The King himſelf was in danger of periſhing, either for want of Proviſions, or by the contagious diſtempers that began to break forth in his Army.

To deliver himſelf out of ſo miſerable a condition, he ſent a Meſſenger to the Adminiſtrator, with Orders to propoſe a Truce for ſome Days under pretext of treating about the Ranſom of the Soldiers. After the Envoy had delivered his Meſſage, he inſinuated dexterouſly that 'twould not be impoſſible to change the Truce to an eternal Peace betwixt the two Nations. The Adminiſtrator was not Ignorant of the extremity to which *Chriſtiern* was

was reduc'd, and knew that he might eaſily compleat his Victory by ſtarving his Enemy; but either out of Generoſity, or in hopes of procuring a ſolid Peace, which would have ſecur'd him in the Poſſeſſion of his Dignity, he conſented immediately to the Truce, and ſent ſeveral Boats laden with Proviſions for the uſe of the King, and all his Navy. 1518.

Chriſtiern perceiving that the Adminiſtrator was extreamly deſirous of a Peace, imagin'd that this might furniſh him with an Opportunity to make himſelf Maſter of his Perſon. He pretended to be overcome by that Prince's Generoſity, and acknowledg'd himſelf extreamly oblig'd to him for the ſeaſonable Relief he had ſent him. Some Time after he propoſed an Interview on board the Fleet, whither he invited the Adminiſtrator, in order to treat about a Peace; and for the Security of his Perſon he ſent ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in his Army to the Court at *Stockholm*.

The Prince, who was naturally of a very free and candid Temper, was eaſily perſuaded to give him that Satisfaction, but the Senate oppoſed his Reſolution, either becauſe they ſuſpected that there was ſome treacherous Deſign hidden under ſo plauſible a Pretext, or were reſolved to maintain the Honour of the State in the Perſon of the Adminiſtrator. In Compliance with their Deſire *Steno* ſent back the Hoſtages with freſh Supplies of Proviſions, and a Meſſage to the King of *Denmark*, by which he acquainted him that he would have willingly conſented to the Interview on board the Fleet, but that the Senate thought it more convenient that the Treaty ſhould be managed by Commiſſioners from both ſides in ſome place on the Frontiers that ſhould be mutually agreed upon.

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1515. *Christiern* perceiving that the Administrator had escap'd the Snare that was laid for him, resolv'd upon another Project to facilitate the Execution of his Designs. He dreaded the Valour of *Gustavus*, and the Authority of his Family in the Kingdom; and besides he had a particular Spite against him for his Affection and Fidelity to the Administrator. He projected a Contrivance to make himself Master of his Person, and of Five or Six other Lords in the *Swedish* Army, imagining that by threatning to put these Officers to Death he might oblige the Administrator to consent to the Re-establishment of the Treaty of *Calmar*, or at least, hoping to create a Difference betwixt the Prince and the most considerable Families in the Kingdom, if he should refuse upon any Terms, to save the Lives of *Gustavus* and his Companions.

In pursuance of this Design he propos'd an Interview in the City of *Stockholm*, offering to repair thither with some of his Council, provided *Gustavus* and Six other Lords whom he should name should be deliver'd as Hostages for the Security of his Person. And to make both the Prince and Senate sensible that 'twas their Interest to comply with this Expedient, he represented to the Administrator, that they might come to a more speedy Agreement by conferring together, than by imploying Plenipotentiaries, who usually consume a great deal of Time in debating about the Preliminaries of a Treaty.

Lawrence Sigonis, Olaüs Rynning, Bennet Nicholai, George Siggones, Heming Gadde.

Thus the Senate was oblig'd to consent to a Proposal, which they could not reject with any Shadow of Reason. As soon as *Gustavus* and the other Hostages appear'd on the Shore the *Danish* Admiral, follow'd by a considerable Number of Officers, advanc'd to salute 'em, and at the same time they were

were ſurrounded by ſeveral Soldiers diſguis'd like Mariners, who had come aſhore during the Truce, under pretext of buying Strong-waters, and other Proviſions. 1516.

Then the Admiral deſir'd 'em to go in his Boat to ſalute the King, who was coming to ſee the Adminiſtrator. *Guſtavus* would have willingly declin'd the Complement, and waited till the King was landed, but he ſaw ſo many *Danes* about him, that he choſe rather to comply with a ſeeming Chearfulneſs, than to make an uſeleſs Reſiſtance.

Thus he and his Companions went on Board, and were immediately carry'd before the King, who commanded 'em to be arreſted and diſarm'd, contrary to his own Promiſe, and to the Law of Nations. Afterwards he ſent word to the Adminiſtrator, that he would order 'em to be beheaded as Rebels and excommunicated Perſons, if he would not immediately conſent to reſtore the Archbiſhop, and re-eſtabliſh the Treaty of *Calmar*. *Steno* was ſo incens'd at ſo baſe a piece of Treachery, that he mann'd immediately all the Boats and Ships in the Harbour. The Noblemen who were then in the City, and eſpecially the Friends and Relations of the Priſoners. leap'd into the firſt Boats they could meet with. The Prince himſelf went on board a Frigat, which he found ready fitted, and ſet ſail with his little Fleet, reſolving with theſe Boats to attack the *Daniſh* Men of War, and either to releaſe the Hoſtages, or periſh in the Attempt: But he could not find his Enemies, who had taken the Advantage of a favourable Gale that began to blow ſome Hours before, and ſet ſail for *Denmark*.

David Chytraus, lib. 7. p. 200. *Loccen.* l. 5. p. 196. *Edit. Upſalien. Joann. Magnus*, l. 23. p. 780. *Olaus Magnus*, lib. 16. p. 289. *Edit. Lugdun.*

King

1518. King *Christiern* left no means unattempted to corrupt the Fidelity of *Gustavus* and his Companions: but they resisted with equal Steddiness and Courage all his Promises and Threats, and could neither be scar'd nor flatter'd into a Compliance with his Desires. Their Resolution and Constancy had almost cost 'em their Lives; for the King finding that he could not gain 'em, and dreading the Courage and Indignation of *Gustavus*, if he should be oblig'd to release him, gave secret Orders to put 'em to Death. But the *Danish* Officer whom he entrusted with that Commission, abhorring so barbarous an Action, and fearing perhaps the Law of Retaliation; if by the Chance of War, he should fall into the Hands of the *Swedes*, took the Liberty to tell his Master, that the Death of these Lords would be prejudicial to his Interest, whereas by detaining 'em Prisoners, he might keep their Relations in awe. These Considerations made so great an Impression upon the King, that he contented himself with imprisoning 'em in the Castle of *Copenhagen*, where they were so cruelly treated by his Order, that some of 'em ended their Days in that miserable Condition.

Eric Banner, a *Danish* Lord, pitying the hard Fate of *Gustavus*, who was his Kinsman, begg'd him of the King, upon his Parole of Honour, and that he might the more easily obtain a Suit of that nature, from that jealous and diffident Prince; he assur'd him, that the only Reason that made him wish to have that young Lord in his House, was, that he might have an Opportunity to gain so considerable a Friend to his Majesty. That Consideration prevail'd with *Christiern* to grant his Request; but on Condition that he should carry his Prisoner to the Castle of *Calo* in *Jutland*, of which he was Governour, and should pay 6000 Crowns of Gold for

for his Ranſom, if he ſhould ſuffer him to eſcape, or could not produce him upon Demand. 1518.

The generous *Banner* thought no Conditions too hard to ſave the Life of his Kinſman, which he believ'd was not ſecure in the Caſtle of *Copenhagen*. He carry'd him to *Calo*, and endeavour'd by a kind and civil Entertainment to make him forget the Miſery he had ſuffer'd at *Copenhagen*. The good Mein, majeſtick Air, and graceful Behaviour, of that Prince, produc'd their uſual Effect upon the Mind of his friendly Jaylor, who, after ſome Time, allow'd him the Liberty of walking abroad, and ſuffer'd him to take the Diverſion of Hunting. New Recreations were propos'd to him every Day, and it ſeem'd to be the main Buſineſs of the Family to pleaſe him: But all the Pleaſures he enjoy'd in ſo obliging a Society could neither make him forget that he was a Priſoner, hor give him the leaſt Satisfaction, while his Confinement depriv'd him of a Share in the Hazard and Glory of the War. His eager Deſire to ſerve the Adminiſtrator in the Defence of his Countrey; and at the ſame time to execute his juſt Vengeance on the perfidious Author of his Captivity, made him ſo uneaſy, that the moſt ſtudy'd Delights ſerv'd only to encreaſe his Melancholy.

On the other hand King *Chriſtiern*'s Thoughts were ſo deeply fix'd on the Conqueſt of *Sweden*, and his Mind was ſo agitated with the tumultuous Motions of a diſappointed Ambition, that his Spite againſt the Adminiſtrator was exaſperated by the ill Succeſs of the Siege of *Stockholm*. He could not forgive that Prince for obliging him to make ſo diſorderly and ignominious a Retreat, and cutting off part of his Army. He was both vexed and aſhamed

1518 ashamed that he had publickly violated his Faith and the Law of Nations to no purpose, by detaining *Gustavus* and the rest of the Hostages; but nothing afflicted him more sensibly than the daily Decrease of his Party in *Sweden*. His Mind became a dismal Scene of Spite, Rage, and Shame; and in the Heat of his Fury he resolv'd to make a last Effort the next Campaign, to repair all his Losses by the Ruine of his Enemy, hoping that the Success of his Arms would in some measure justify him for proceeding against the *Swedes* as rebellious Subjects and excommunicated Wretches, without allowing 'em the Treatment which is usually granted to common Enemies.

He stood equally in need of Men and Money to carry on his Designs; and to supply the last of these Deficiences, he gave Orders to his Officers to seize the Legate *Arcemboldi*'s Treasures, under pretext that he had laid out the Money he had rais'd by the Sale of Indulgences, on contraband Goods. But his Guilt really consisted in a Million of Florins, which he was going to carry out of the Northern Kingdoms, and in holding Intelligence with the Administrator. The King had heard of the ill Offices he did to the Archbishop, and was not ignorant that he had oblig'd all his Friends to make use of their Interest with the Pope, to obtain the Archbishoprick of *Upsal*. And from thence he concluded that the Dignity to which he aspir'd with the Administrator's Consent, was the Reward of his betraying the Secret, with which he had entrusted him to that Prince, and that his Infidelity had ruin'd the *Danish* Faction in *Sweden*. The Prospect of so profitable a Revenge, was in his Opinion a sufficient Ground to excuse an open Violation of the Law of Nations. He caus'd the Legate to be secur'd

ſecur'd with all his Effects, and that he might not be oblig'd to reſtore the Treaſure he had ſeiz'd, or ſubmit to an Examination of the Privileges, to which the Function and Character of that Prelate entitled him; he gave ſecret Orders to ſuffer him to ſteal out of the Kingdom, after he had been kept for ſome Time in perpetual Fear of Death, that he might take hold of the firſt Opportunity to make his Eſcape. By this Uſage of the Legate, it appear'd that the ſeeming Zeal of that Prince, in executing the Orders of the holy See, was only a politick Contrivance to carry on his ambitious Deſigns, which he endeavour'd always to cover with a Pretext of Religion. 1518.

He imploy'd the Legate's Money in making new Levies, and impos'd heavy and unuſual Taxes upon his Subjects, without the Advice or Conſent of the Eſtates. The Clergy and Nobility oppos'd theſe Innovations, and poſitively refus'd to contribute towards the raiſing of the Supplies, under pretext, that neither the Taxes, nor the Declaration of the War were authoriz'd or approv'd either by the Senate or, Eſtates. But their real Deſign was to put a Stop to his Ambition, and curb the Impetuoſity of his Temper, for they were extreamly jealous of his Deſigns, and perhaps were not leſs afraid than the *Swedes*, of the Succeſs of his Arms.

In the mean time he ſqueez'd conſiderable Sums out of the common People, who are uſually the firſt who feel the Burthen of Taxes, and are ſeldom or never aſſiſted by the Nobility and other Eſtates, who content themſelves with ſecuring themſelves. He levy'd foreign Troops with the Money he had rais'd by theſe Impoſitions; he invited all the Soldiers of Fortune, and ſtraggling Adven-

1518. Adventurers that would enter into his Service, and even preferr'd 'em before the *Danes* in the Distribution of Offices and Places, that his Arms might be lodg'd in the Hands of those who depended intirely upon him. At the same time he prevailed with *Francis* I. King of *France*, to assist him with 4000 Foot, under the Command of *Gaston de Brezè*, the Prince of *Foucarmount*, and the Baron of *Gondrin*. Thus in a little time he had the Pleasure to see himself at the Head of a numerous Army, which made him equally terrible to his Subjects and Enemies. He conferr'd the Title and Authority of General on *Otho Crumpein*, who was esteem'd one of the greatest Captains in the North, and entrusted him with the Management of his Designs, and the Command of his Forces, not daring to leave *Copenhagen* at a time, when there were so many visible Signs of a general Dissatisfaction among the Senators, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom.

1519. *Febr.* *Otho* led his Army to *Westgothland*, where he made a terrible Havock, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement. In the mean time the Administrator march'd at the Head of his Army, followed by Ten Thousand Peasants of that Province, who came voluntarily to his Assistance. He encamped at the Entry of the Forest of *Tyvede*, having order'd a great Number of Trees to be cut down, to fortify his Camp and Trenches. *Otho* pretended to be somewhat daunted at the Sight of the *Swedish* Forces, and retreated with a seeming Precipitation to the *Lake Veler*, which was at that time covered with Ice, upon which he encamped with his whole Army. *Steno* was so transported at the Sight of a flying Enemy, that he was not Master of so much Presence of Mind, as to restrain the impetuous Ardor of his Courage.

He

He left his Infantry and the *Peaſants* in the Wood, where they lay entrench'd, and march'd with his Cavalry after the *Danes*, whom he attack'd near *Bogeſund*. His Valor and Example inſpir'd all the Soldiers in his Army, with a Reſolution to conquer or die. He charg'd at the Head of a Squadron compos'd of the principal Noblemen of the Kingdom; he drove back all that durſt venture to ſtand the Shock of his Attack, and broke thro' their thickeſt Ranks with ſo brave a Fury, that he was juſt ready to taſte the pleaſure of ſo glorious a Victory, when one of his Legs was ſhot off by a Cannon Bullet. The *Swedes* were ſo diſheartn'd at the ſight of their General's Misfortune, that they began to ſhrink and give Ground. The *Daniſh* General was too well acquainted with the Art of War, to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of ſnatching the Victory out of the Hands of a ſtaggering and diſmaid Enemy: And therefore as ſoon as he perceiv'd their Diſorder, he order'd his Cannon to be charg'd with Cartouches, and pointed at the *Swediſh* Cavalry; and at the ſame time he brought up his Infantry, who made a continual Fire. The *Swediſh* Cavalry having loſt the Spirit that animated 'em maintain'd a running Fight for ſome time; but at laſt fearing to be ſurrounded, they fled with the utmoſt Precipitation and Confuſion. During the general Diſorder, the Adminiſtrator was carry'd off upon a Sledge by his Servants, and dy'd of his Wound near *Stregnez*, as they were bringing him to *Stockholm*. He was extremely valiant; but his undaunted Courage was not accompany'd with an equal Dexterity in the Management of Affairs: In a word, he was a better Soldier than a Stateſman, and fitter to command a Party, than to govern a Kingdom. 1519.

1519. *Otho*, who knew as well how to improve as how to obtain a Victory, gave Orders to his Troops to march immediately againſt the *Swediſh* Infantry, and the *Peaſants* who guarded the Paſs of *Tyvede*. He imagin'd that he could eaſily force their Trenches, and commanded the *Daniſh* Foot to Attack 'em; but the *Swedes* made ſo brave a Reſiſtance, that the Enemies were oblig'd to retire with a conſiderable Loſs.

The General, enrag'd at the Cowardice of his Men, order'd the *French* Infantry to renew the Attack, and at the ſame time went round the Trenches, to ſee whether he could diſcover an eaſier Paſſage, or a Place that was not ſo ſtrongly Guarded. In the mean time the Prince of *Foucarmont* advanc'd at the Head of the *French*, and was the firſt Man who mounted the Ramport with his Sword in his Hand; but immediately after he receiv'd ſo dangerous a Wound with an Arrow that he fell into the Ditch. The *French*, as if the Fall of their Commander had been deſign'd for a Signal, Attack'd the *Swedes* with ſo obſtinate a Fury, that they made themſelves Maſters of the Trenches, notwithſtanding an incredible Reſiſtance; and while they kept the Enemy in play, *Otho* opened a Paſſage in another Place. Tho' the *Swedes* were extreamly weaken'd and fatigu'd by the Length of the Engagement, and ſurrounded on all Sides, they continued to make a very brave Defence: The *Peaſants* animated with Deſpair and Rage ran into the thickeſt Battalions, neither expecting nor deſiring to live, and even willing to die, provided they could revenge their Death by that of an Enemy. They were all cut to pieces, except ſome who made their Eſcape in the Night, and fled to the Woods, from whence they returned by degrees to their reſpective Habitations.

The

The *Daniſh* General, perceiving that there were no Forces left to oppoſe him, paſſed thro' the Foreſt of *Tyvede*, and penetrated into the Heart of the Kingdom. There were no regulated Troops, nor *Militia* on Foot, to make Head againſt the Enemy; the People generally fled to the remoteſt Provinces; the greateſt part of the Senators ſhut themſelves up in their Caſtles; the Adminiſtrator's Widow retired to the Cittadel of *Stockholm*, with the two young Princes her Children; and the *Peaſants* dreading the Fate of their Countrymen, took ſhelter in the Woods. There was no poſſibility of putting a Stop to the Carreer of the Publick Misfortunes, and retrieving the Honour of the Kingdom, but by proceeding to the Election of a new Adminiſtrator, who might have encouraged and commanded the Nobility to make another, and more vigorous Effort, rallyed the *Militia* and ſcattered Troops, and oppoſed *Chriſtiern*'s Pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*. 1519.

The Clergy imployed all their Intereſt to prevent an Election, which they foreſaw would be extremely prejudicial to the Intereſt of that Prince. As ſoon as the Arch-biſhop received Advice of the Adminiſtrator's Death, he left the Monaſtry whether he had retired, and reſuming the Authority which he had ſolemnly reſign'd in the Senate, he marched ſtraight to *Upſal*, and made that City declare for the King of *Denmark*. The Biſhops of *Lincoping* and *Stregnez*, were always ſecret Abettors of the *Daniſh* Faction, but had declined ſiding openly with either Party, while the event of the War ſeem'd to be uncertain, took this occaſion to diſcover their real Inclinations. They publickly own'd the Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of the King of *Denmark*'s Claim, and viſited all the Places in their reſpective Dioceſes, to hinder the Nobility from taking up Arms, flattering

1519. ſome with Hope of Reward, and terrifying others with the Fear of Puniſhment. They endeavour'd to perſwade all ſorts of Perſons, that *Sweden* was not in a Condition to reſiſt the *Danes*; that the late Adminiſtrator by diſobeying the Head of the Church had provok'd the Indignation of Heaven, and receiv'd the Juſt Reward of his Contumacy; that a new Election would only ſerve to encreaſe the Guilt of the Nation, and expoſe it to utter Ruin, whereas 'twas in their Power to reſtore Plenty and Tranquillity by ſubmitting to the Orders of the Holy See, and concluding a ſolid Peace with *Denmark*.

Eric Trolle, Eric Abrahami, Benedict Canut.

By ſuch ſubtle Inſinuations they gain'd three Senators and ſeveral Lords, whoſe Lands were moſt expos'd to the Fury of the Enemy. And under pretext of ſecuring the Quiet and Safety of their Country, they perſwaded theſe Lords to ſend Deputies to General *Crumpein*, to deſire a Truce in the Name of the whole Nation, and to aſſure him, that in the mean time they would take ſuch Reſolutions, as might be equally profitable to both Kingdoms, and agreeable to the King his Maſter.

The cunning General would not abſolutely deny their Requeſt, but he took care they ſhould not have time to reflect upon their Condition, and upon their true Intereſt. He granted only a Truce for Eleven Days, and during that Time he required that a Meeting of the Eſtates ſhould be held at *Upſal*, where he would appear to acquaint 'em with his Maſter's pretenſions. The Arch-biſhop who by his Office was the firſt Senator, call'd the Meeting; and the Clergy us'd all their Intereſt and Rhetoric to perſwade the Nobility and Commons either to come in Perſon, or ſend Deputies to the Aſſembly; but the greateſt Part of 'em refus'd poſitively to meet in a Place that had declar'd for the Enemy.

So

So that the whole Aſſembly conſiſted only of the Biſhops, the three Senators whom they had gain'd, and ſome Lords of *Weſt-Gothland*, who were ſcar'd into a Compliance by the Troops and Menaces of the *Daniſh* General. However the Arch-biſhop open'd the Convention, which being intirely compos'd of his Friends and Creatures, was abſolutely govern'd by him. In the mean time *Otho* repair'd to *Upſal* accompanied with the principal Officers of his Army, and requir'd the Eſtates to aboliſh the Dignity and Office of an Adminiſtrator, and to reeſtabliſh the Union of *Calmar*, in Favour of the King his Maſter. There was no need of uſing Arguments to perſwade an Aſſembly that conſiſted of ſuch Perſons as were already engag'd in the *Daniſh* Faction, either by Fear or Inclination. They prevented the General's Demands, aboliſh'd the Dignity of an Adminiſtrator, and condemn'd the Memory of thoſe Princes who had born that Title, as Rebels againſt their lawful Sovereigns. And they were even ſo zealous to out-do each other, in haſtening the intire Ruin of their Country, that *Otho* was oblig'd to moderate their Ardor, leaſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that they Treaty, which he concluded with the Eſtates was only ſign'd by Traytors, or at leaſt by Perſons whoſe Conſent was extorted by violent Methods. 1519.

He promis'd in the Name of the King his Maſter, that the Laws and Privileges of the Kingdom ſhould be preſerv'd and maintain'd; that all the Articles of the Treaty of *Calmar* ſhould be punctually obſerv'd; that the Priſoners, and particularly *Guſtavus Ericſon*, ſhould be deliver'd without Ranſom; and that no Perſon ſhould be moleſted for engaging in any Party during the War, ſince the Death of the Adminiſtrator *Suanto*. Then the Arch-biſhop conferr'd the Title of King of *Sweden* upon *Chriſtiern* *May.*

1519. *ſtiern* in the name of the whole Aſſembly, as if his Sovereignty had been acknowledg'd by all the Eſtates of the Kingdom. He ſent alſo Circular Letters into all the Provinces, intimating the Conditions of the Treaty he had concluded, and requiring all the People to ſubmit to the Reſolution of the Eſtates, upon Pain of being Proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigour for their Diſobedience.

Afterwards *Otho* march'd with his Army into the remote Provinces of the Kingdom, to make the People acknowledge the Authority of his Maſter. He routed ſeveral Bodies of the *Peaſants*, who could not bear the ſight of their Enemies, without putting themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. Their Natural Courage was animated by all the Motions of Fury and Revenge; but they were equally deſtitute of Leaders and Fortune. After the *Daniſh* General had diſpears'd the Rabble, who fought with more Impetuoſity than Order, he detach'd ſeveral Party's; who burnt the Villages, purſu'd the *Peaſants* to the Woods, and deſtroy'd a prodigious Number of 'em.

The Arch-biſhop, to terrify the reſt with the Fear of a Puniſhment, which the Superſtitious *Peaſants* dreaded more than Death it ſelf, prohibited the Clergy to grant Chriſtian Burial, to thoſe who dy'd in Rebellion againſt the Prince, that was Authoriz'd by the Holy See. The *Daniſh* General deſtroy'd the Lands and Caſtles of thoſe Lords who refuſed to acknowledge his Maſter; and at the ſame time entertained thoſe who declared in his Favour, with all the Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Civility. The Lords and Gentlemen, weaken'd by their mutual Diviſions, were at laſt conſtrained to yield their Necks to the *Daniſh* Yoke, and the whole Kingdom was forced to ſubmit to it's new Maſter. The People ran to meet the Conqueror, and endeavoured

voured to make their Peace on the eaſieſt Terms. 1519.
The greateſt part of the City, ſent Deputies to promiſe Obedience; only *Stockholm* and *Calmar* perſiſted in their Fidelity to the Adminiſtrator's Widow. *Otho* inveſted the firſt of theſe Cities and canton'd his Troops about it in ſuch a manner, that 'twas impoſſible to relieve the Town by Land. Then he wrote to the King his Maſter, to acquaint him with the Succeſs of the Campaign, and the Treaty that was concluded at *Upſal*.

The News of the Reduction of *Sweden* were ex- *Novemb*
tremely agreeable to the Court of *Denmark*: But while every one ſtrove to expreſs his Joy for ſo glorious and important a Succeſs, the King who was moſt concerned in it, could not forbear diſcovering the Trouble and Uneaſineſs of his Mind. That Jealous and Apprehenſive Prince was afraid, that *Otho* would make uſe of his Name, and of an Army that was wholly compos'd of Foreigners, to make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom: And even his Fears ſuggeſted to him, that the *Swedes*, who were naturally poſſeſſed with an implacable Averſion againſt the *Danes*, would endeavour to bribe that General's Fidelity by offering to acknowledge him as Adminiſtrator. However he diſſembled his Suſpicions, and ſent him Letters full of Expreſſions of Gratitude for the important Services he had received from him; but at the ſame time to keep him in awe, he acquainted him that he was reſolved to march to *Sweden* next Spring at the Head of a numerous Army, and that he would command the Siege of *Stockholm* in Perſon. Some time after he ſent ſeveral Ships laden with Salt, which was very ſcarce and dear in *Sweden*, and ordered the General to cauſe it to be diſtributed *Gratis* among the principal Perſons of every Village, that the *Peaſants* might eſteem

1519. themſelves happy, in being ſubject to ſo kind a Maſter.

Guſtavus was ſoon after alarmed with the diſmal news of the Ruin of his Country. He was extremely afflicted at the Adminiſtrator's Death, and concluded that the King of *Denmark* would take advantage of the general Conſternation, to make himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom. His Reſtraint became inſupportable to him, tho' he was ſtill entertained by *Banner* with all the obliging Tenderneſs he could expect or deſire from a kind Relation. The Tranquillity of his Thoughts was perpetually diſturb'd with the moſt violent Tranſports of Revenge for the Death of *Steno*, and of a moſt paſſionate Love to his Country; and perhaps he had already began to form ſome ambitious Deſigns, which encreaſed the Agitation of his Mind. He was too well acquainted with the King of *Denmark*'s Character to entertain the leaſt Hope of procuring his Liberty from that Prince before the End of the War, though to gain the Nobility that was made an expreſs Article of the Treaty of *Upſal*; and the natural Generoſity of his Temper would not ſuffer him to make any Propoſal to *Banner* that might ſeem inconſiſtent with his Duty to his Sovereign. And therefore he reſolv'd to make his Eſcape privately, concluding that 'twould be no Injury to his Kinſman if the Ranſom appointed by the King were paid.

Decemb. In order to the Execution of that Deſign, he went out of the Caſtle one Morning, under pretext of hunting in the Woods, according to his uſual Cuſtom. As ſoon as he came to a convenient place he diſguis'd himſelf in a Peaſant's Habit, and in that Equipage travell'd on foot through By-ways, and in Two Days arriv'd at *Flensburg*. Since no Man was ſuffer'd to go out of that City with-

without a Paſport, *Guſtavus* durſt not appear at the Gate, or go before the Governor, for fear of being diſcover'd; but, as if Fortune had deſign'd to favour his Eſcape, this happen'd to be the time of the Year when the Merchants of lower *Saxony* come to *Jutland* to buy Oxen, with which they drive a conſiderable Trade. *Guſtavus* offer'd his Service to one of theſe *German* Merchants, who hir'd him to drive his Oxen, by the help of which Diſguiſe he eſcap'd out of the *Daniſh* Territories, and arriv'd ſafe at *Lubeck*. 1519.

Aſſoon as *Banner* heard of his Priſoner's Flight, he purſu'd him with extraordinary Haſte and Diligence, and overtook him at *Lubeck*. In the firſt Tranſports of his Anger he began to treat him as a Perſon, who by a baſe Action had expos'd his Friend and Benefactor to the Indignation of his Sovereign, and the Forfeiture of a conſiderable Summ of Money. *Guſtavus* knowing that theſe Reproaches were not altogether groundleſs, was ſo far ftom being offended at 'em, that he endeavour'd in the mildeſt and moſt obliging Terms to pacify his Kinſman, and to convince him of the Innocency, and even Neceſſity, of that Action which he blam'd. He begg'd him to conſider cooly and impartially the Injuſtice of his Reſtraint, and the Injury that was done him againſt the public Faith, and the Law of Nations. He told him, that he himſelf was a Witneſs with what Patience and Submiſſion he had born his Impriſonment, ſo long as he could entertain the leaſt Hope that the King of *Denmark* might at laſt be perſwaded to do him Juſtice; and that no reaſonable Perſon could blame him for endeavouring to procure his Liberty, ſince even the Treaty of *Upſal* could not oblige his implacable Enemy to releaſe him. He added, that he would never forget the obliging Treatment he had receiv'd at his Houſe; and that he would take

1519. take care to ſend him the Sum which the King requir'd for his Ranſom.

Banner was ſo fully convinc'd by his Reaſons, and ſatisfy'd with his Promiſe, that he went Home and gave out that he could not find his Priſoner. The King fearing that his old Enemy would endeavour to form a Party againſt him in *Sweden*, ſent Orders to General *Otho* to make a diligent Search for him. But notwithſtanding all the Dangers that threaten'd him, he perſiſted in his Reſolution to return to *Sweden*, and to incite his Countrymen to make a vigorous Effort to recover their Liberty. In purſuance of that Deſign he diſcover'd himſelf to *Nicholas Gems*, the firſt Conſul of *Lubeck*, and endeavour'd by ſeveral Reaſons to perſwade that Magiſtrate to favour him with his Advice and Aſſiſtance. He entreated him to conſider that 'twas the Intereſt of the Regency to put a ſeaſonable Stop to the boundleſs Ambition of King *Chriſtiern*; that the Conqueſt of *Sweden* would make that Prince Maſter of all the Trade of the *Baltick* Sea, and conſequently ruin the Merchants of the *Hanſe* Towns; and that the Inhabitants of *Lubeck* could never reckon themſelves ſecure while the Three Northern Crowns were united in the Perſon of one Sovereign. Afterwards he put him in mind of the Hatred which the *Danes* had on all Occaſions expreſs'd againſt that City, and of the many and important Services which the Republick had receiv'd from *Sweden*. He added, that he was confident the Regency had not yet forgotten that they ow'd their Liberty to *Eric Bleſus*, King of *Sweden*, who deliver'd 'em from the tyrannical Uſurpation of *Waldemar* II. King of *Denmark*; and that their Merchants were oblig'd to the Trade and Protection of *Sweden* for all the Riches they enjoy'd. And concluded, that he hop'd that both Intereſt and Gratitude

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tude would prevail with the Republick to aſſiſt their ancient Allies in the juſt Defence of their Liberty and Privileges. 1520.

The Conſul was very ſenſible of the Reaſonableneſs of *Guſtavus*'s Deſire, and promis'd to propoſe it at the firſt Meeting of the Council: But the Regency, who were all Merchants, did not think fit to declare for a Party that had no ſtanding Forces to ſupport 'em, and were not in a Condition to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. Theſe Burghers were only concern'd for the preſent Security of their Trade, and they were ſo afraid of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the King of *Denmark*, who was Maſter of a potent Fleet, that they refus'd to grant *Guſtavus* a Paſſage to *Scockholm*, where he was deſirous to make his firſt Appearance. But it ſeems the Conſul ſaw further, or was better acquainted with the Intereſts of the City, than the reſt of the Council, or perhaps had private Orders to ſhew more Favour to that illuſtrious Adventurer than the Regency were willing to own; for he told him in ſecret that he would provide a Veſſel that ſhou'd carry him to *Sweden*; and at his Departure aſſur'd him, that if he could form a Party ſtrong enough to take the Field, the Regency would infallibly declare for him.

Guſtavus would have landed at *Stockholm*, but the Maſter of the Ship, either in Obedience to private Orders, or becauſe he was bound to another Place, ſet him aſhore near *Calmar*, which ſeem'd ſtill to adhere to the Party and Intereſt of the Princeſs *Chriſtina*, the Adminiſtrator's Widow; or rather was kept by the Governour, till the *Danes* ſhould offer ſome advantageous Propoſal, to make amends for the Loſs of his Government.

Guſtavus

1519. *Gustavus* discover'd himself to the Governor, and to the principal Officers of the Garrison, who were for the most part *Germans*, and had serv'd under him in Prince *Steno*'s Army, imagining that they would have so much Regard to his Birth, and former Authority, as to intrust him with the Command of the Town. He exhorted 'em to signalize their Courage in so noble a Cause, and to preserve that Fidelity to the Princess which they had promis'd to her deceas'd Husband: He told 'em that he had run thro' all Dangers that he might have a Share in the Glory of a vigorous and honourable Defence, and assur'd 'em that they might confidently expect a speedy and seasonable Relief. But those mercenary Foreigners seeing that he had neither Troops, nor so much as Servants to attend him, look'd upon him as a lost Man, and were so far from submitting to his Authority, or engaging in his Party, that when he attempted to gain some Soldiers of the Garrison, they threaten'd so positively to kill him, or to deliver him up to King *Christiern*, that he was forc'd to prevent the Execution of their Menaces by a speedy Flight, and was even oblig'd to have recourse to his former Disguise, upon Advice that the *Danes*, who were advertis'd of his Arrival, had sent out several Parties to apprehend him. And fearing least so vigilant an Enemy might easily discover a young Lord in the Habit of a Peasant, he hid himself in a Waggon laden with Straw, and in that Equipage pass'd thro' all the Quarters of the *Danish* Army to a Castle that belong'd to his Father in the Province of *Sudermania*.

From thence he wrote to his Friends, to acquaint 'em with his Escape and Return, desiring 'em to repair immediately to the place where he lay with all their Vassals and Followers. For he hop'd that by their Assistance he might be able to force some Quarter

Quarter of the *Daniſh* Army, and afterwards to march to the Relief of *Stockholm*. But they were ſo far from engaging in ſo hazardous a Deſign, that even his Relations refus'd to entertain any Correſpondence with him. That paſſionate Love, or rather Fondneſs of Liberty, which was always reckon'd the peculiar Character of the Nation, ſeem'd to be quite extinct, and the haughty and untractable *Swedes* became the tame Slaves of their moſt hated Enemies. Every Man endeavour'd to avoid the leaſt Shadow of Suſpicion, and contented himſelf with ſecuring his private Intereſt, without regarding the Safety and Honour of his Country. 1519.

Guſtavus diſdaining the Cowardice of his Friends, reſolv'd to have recourſe to the Peaſants, concluding that 'twould be an eaſier Task to inflame the natural Fierceneſs of the Rabble, who could neither be engag'd by Fear nor Hope in the *Daniſh* Faction. He went about the neighbouring Villages in the Night, endeavouring to gain the principal Perſons, and at laſt ventur'd to appear in public on Feſtival Days, to incite the Mobile to take up Arms againſt their Oppreſſors. But he ſoon perceiv'd that their wonted Fury was but too effectually cool'd by the late diſaſtrous War, in which moſt of 'em had ſeen the Death of ſome of their Relations; and inſtead of offering him their Aſſiſtance, they told him in a blunt and clowniſh manner that they wanted neither Herrings nor Salt under the Dominion of the King of *Denmark*, but could not avoid certain Deſtruction if they ſhould make the leaſt Attempt againſt ſo potent a Prince.

Guſtavus was equally vex'd and ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected a Diſappointment. He knew not what to do, nor whither to retire: He could not be ſafe in

1519. in *Sweden* but at the Head of an Army; the *Danes* were ſtill in queſt of him, and he cou'd neither continue long in one place, nor make frequent Removes, without expoſing himſelf to manifeſt and even almoſt unavoidable Dangers. At laſt he reſolv'd, tho' with the Hazard of his Life, to get into *Stockholm*, hoping that his Preſence would inſpire the Burghers and Garriſon with new Reſolution and Courage, and that by making a brave Defence he might prevail with the *Hanſe* Towns to ſend him a ſeaſonable Relief. He left the Caſtle of *Reſnas* without acquainting any Perſon with his Deſign, and travell'd for ſome Days thro' By-ways, ſpending the Night in ſolitary Cottages, to avoid meeting with his vigilant Purſuers. But notwithſtanding all his Caution he was once in ſo great danger of being ſurpriz'd, that the Enemy came but an Hour too late. So that finding it impoſſible to proceed on his Journey without falling into the Hands of the *Danes*, he return'd by another Road, and in ſo preſſing an Extremity reſolv'd to take Sanctuary for ſome Time in a Convent of *Carthuſians* at *Griphyſolm*, which was founded by his Anceſtors. But the Monks preferring their preſent Intereſt to the Memory of paſt Favours refus'd to admit him, under pretext that they were afraid of expoſing their Houſe and Order to the Fury and Indignation of the *Danes*. And therefore perceiving that 'twould be in vain to expect a ſafe Retreat, where there was ſo little appearance of Generoſity or Gratitude, he return'd to the Province of *Sudermania*, and retir'd to the Houſe of a Peaſant that had been an old Servant in his Family, where he lay hid for ſome time, and ſent his Hoſt with Letters to ſeveral Lords, endeavouring to re-animate their drooping Courage, and inſpire 'em with a noble Reſolution to recover their Liberty and Honour. But they were ſo terrify'd and overaw'd by the Preſence of the

Daniſh

Daniſh General, and by the Report he had induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, that King *Chriſtiern* was ready to enter the Kingdom at the Head of a powerful Army, that they durſt not diſcover the leaſt Inclination to a Revolt. In the mean time *Guſtavus* comforted himſelf with the Hope of ſome Revolution after that Prince's Arrival, concluding that the Severity of his Government would rouze the Averſion of the *Swedes* againſt their ancient Enemies. King *Chriſtiern* long'd extremely to enjoy the Fruit of his Victories, and to awe his new Subjects with the Sight of their Conqueror. He enter'd *Sweden* in the Spring, as he had intimated in his Letter to the General, and was receiv'd by the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the Prelates with all the Joy that uſually appears in the Air and Behaviour of the Fortunate. The Archbiſhop eſpecially thought himſelf oblig'd to ſignalize his Zeal on this Occaſion, and to expreſs a more than ordinary Satisfaction for the Succeſs of a Revolution, by which he hop'd to be the principal Gainer; for he concluded that as ſoon as the King had compleated the Conqueſt of *Sweden* he would entruſt him with the ſole Management of his Authority. 1520.

Chriſtiern at his arrival ſolemnly ratify'd the Treaty of *Upſal*, and, as if that Ceremony had given him an uncontroverted Title to the Crown, he diſpatch'd Expreſſes immediately to the Adminiſtrator's Widow at *Stockholm*, and to the Governour of *Calmar*, requiring 'em to ſurrender thoſe 2 Places. The Governor of the latter capitulated without expecting a Siege, and *Chriſtiern*, without employing any other Artillery than what he drew from his Purſe, made himſelf Maſter of that important Place, which was the moſt conſiderable Port in the Kingdom next to *Stockholm*. He confer'd the Government of it upon *Severin de Norbi*, Governor of the Iſle of *Gothland*, and

1519. and Admiral of *Denmark*, who inſinuated himſelf into that Prince's Favour by expreſſing upon all Occaſions an intire Reſignation to his Deſires and Inclinations, at a time when the Senators of *Denmark*, and the principal Lords of the Kingdom, claim'd a Right to offer their Advice to the Prince, and even to contradict his Opinion when they thought it inconſiſtent with the Good of the Nation.

But the Adminiſtrator's Widow expreſs'd a more heroical Reſolution than that treacherous Governor. She ſent *Chriſtiern* word that ſhe would never ſubmit to the Deſtroyer of her Family and Country, nor comply with the Reſolutions of an Aſſembly that was compos'd of Traitors and Rebels, and govern'd by the Enemies of the Nation. The Courage of that Princeſs, and the Boldneſs of her Anſwer, was a ſufficient Intimation to *Chriſtiern* that the Conqueſt of *Stockholm* would coſt him dearer, and require more ſubſtantial Batteries, than that of *Calmar*. And therefore ſince he perceiv'd that in all Probability the Garriſon would make an obſtinate Defence, he advanc'd with his Army to inveſt the Place, and order'd Admiral *Norby* to block up the Port with his Fleet.

He carry'd on the Siege with all the Earneſtneſs and Vigour that can be ſuppos'd to animate an ambitious Prince, who is juſt upon the Point of compleating the Conqueſt of a Kingdom. He was Day and Night on Horſeback; he encourag'd his Soldiers both by his own Example, and by conſiderable Rewards; he went daily to the Trenches, and viſited the moſt advanc'd Works; he ſhar'd all the Danger and Fatigue of the Siege with the meaneſt of his Soldiers; and, which was ſtill a more difficult and laborious Task, he curb'd the impetuous Violence of his Humour, diſſembled his ſecret and implacable Averſion againſt the *Swediſh* Nation, and

and even careſs'd the Nobility to keep 'em from taking up Arms for the Defence of their Princeſs, and the Preſervatson of their Country. 1520.

In the mean time, the Adminiſtrator's Widow made a brave reſiſtance: The Soldiers of the Garriſon animated by her Preſence, and the Inhabitants encourag'd by the Succeſs of their late Defence, repuls'd the Attacks of their Enemies with incredible Valor. But tho' they wanted neither Courage nor Reſolution, they began to ſuffer extremely for want of Proviſions and Ammunition; and the City was ſo ſtraitn'd by the Beſiegers both by Sea and Land, that they cou'd not hope to be reliev'd tho' their Countrymen and Allies ſhou'd have taken the Field in their Defence. The King of *Denmark* was inform'd of their Condition by ſome Deſerters, and receiv'd the welcome News with extraordinary Tranſports of Joy. He knew that the Conqueſt of *Sweden* depended on the Reduction of the Capital City, and was ſtill afraid leſt *Guſtavus*, whoſe Reſidence he cou'd not diſcover, ſhou'd raiſe an Inſurrection in ſome part of the Kingdom, or perſuade the *Hanſe*-Towns, to make a Diverſion in *Denmark*.

He ſent a new Summons to the Adminiſtrator's Widow, to open the Gates of *Stockholm*: and to perſuade her to a ſpeedy Submiſſion, he order'd his Meſſenger to repreſent to her, that her Obſtinacy cou'd not prevent the Loſs of the Town: that he was Maſter of the whole Kingdom; that his Army was lodg'd at the Foot of the Wall, and only expected the Signal for a general Aſſault; that he was ſorry ſhe ſeem'd reſolv'd to expoſe herſelf to the Diſorders that are uſually committed when a Place is taken by Storm: and that ſince the Convention of the Eſtates at *Upſal* had by a ſolemn Treaty declar'd him Sovereign of the Kingdom, her Reſiſtance cou'd not be eſteem'd

1520. leſs criminal than an open Rebellion, eſpecially ſince ſhe headed a Faction that was excommunicated by the Pope. At the ſame time he offer'd to agree with her upon the following Conditions; That her Eſtate ſhould be preſerv'd entire; that ſhe ſhould ſtill enjoy the ſame Dignity and Honours which ſhe poſſeſs'd during the Life of her Husband; that the Priſoners on both ſides ſhou'd be releas'd without paying any Ranſome; and that the City of *Stockholm*, ſhould continue in the Poſſeſſion of all Privileges.

'Twas not without an extreme Reluctancy, that the Princeſs condeſcended to hear ſo unwelcome a Meſſage. 'Tis certainly the moſt ſenſible Mortification that can befal a Sovereign, when he is oblig'd to diveſt himſelf of his belov'd Power, eſpecially when his Diſaſter is attended with this cruel Circumſtance, that he muſt reſign his Authority to his Enemy. However the Ambaſſador's Widow was ſo ſenſible of the hopeleſs Poſture of her Affairs, that ſhe was at laſt perſuaded by her Council to treat with the King of *Denmark*. The Articles of the Capitulation were drawn by the Conſuls and Magiſtrates of *Stockholm*, who took care to make 'em as advantageous to the Princeſs, as they durſt propoſe in the preſent Juncture. Nor did the King make the leaſt Scruple to grant all the Terms which they deſir'd, well knowing that as ſoon as he ſhou'd be Maſter of the City, 'twou'd be in his Power to give what Senſe he pleas'd to the Articles of the Treaty. And thus he ſign'd the Capitulation, and was receiv'd into *Stockholm*, at the Head of 4000 Men, whom he left to keep Garriſon in the Place.

September.

He call'd a Meeting of the Eſtates to be held on the Fourth of *November*; and appointed the ſame Day for the Solemnity of his Coronation.

After-

Afterwards he ſent Detachments from his Army to the principal Places of the Kingdom, to keep the Provinces in awe. He ſent back the General whom he ſuſpected by reaſon of the Glory of his Victories, and his Intereſt among the Soldiers, and having entruſted *Norbi*, with the Command of the Army, and the Archbiſhop of *Upſal* with the Management of the State, he march'd with all poſſible Diligence to *Denmark*, at the Head of his *French* and *German* Auxiliaries, having receiv'd repeated Advices that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in that Kingdom to cruſh a brooding Revolt. 1520.

He ſtood in need of all his Power, and of the Fame of his Conqueſts and Arms, to keep his Subjects from breaking out into open Rebellion. The People encourag'd by his Abſence, and by the Neceſſity of his preſent Circumſtances, which oblig'd him to remove his Forces; obſtinately refus'd to pay the new Taxes, which he had laid upon 'em. They were generally diſſatisfy'd, and complain'd againſt the Government; they blam'd him openly for invading *Sweden*, and gave out that his Army was beaten, tho' that Report was only grounded on their Wiſhes that it might prove true. The Senate, and principal Lords of the Kingdom were ſo far from oppoſing and ſuppreſſing ſo viſible a Tendency to a Revolt, that they fomented the Diſcontent of the People. They hated *Chriſtiern* for excluding 'em from their wonted ſhare in the Government; and were incens'd even to Madneſs, becauſe he ſought only to aſſume an Arbitrary Power, that he might lodge it entirely in the Hands of an old *Dutch* Woman call'd *Sigebrite*, who had neither *Birth* nor *Beauty* to engage his Affection, and yet meerly by her *Wit* and *Cunning*, had made him one of the moſt deſperate Lovers in the

1520. World. She govern'd him with an absolute and uncontroul'd Empire, her Pleasure was the Supreme Law, on which the Fate of the Court, and of the whole Kingdom depended. 'Twas as impossible to undermine, as 'twas dangerous to oppose her Interest: She gave, and took away all Places, Offices, and Dignities as she pleas'd, without regarding the Laws of the Country; and not unfrequently undertook the Management and Promoting of unjust Designs, on purpose to show the Arbitrarineſs of her Power. *Yet notwithstanding her Age, and other Defects, the deluded King approv'd all that she did, and seem'd ambitious to be reckon'd the principal Minister of her Pleasure.*

The quick Return of that Monarch from his victorious Expedition surpriz'd his murmuring Subjects, and broke all their Designs. They endeavour'd with all possible care to conceal their Discontent, and to express a seeming Joy for their Prince's Success. He was receiv'd at his Arrival with all those Marks of Affection and Respect, which are the perpetual Companion of the Fortunate. His Ministers, according to the usual Maxim of Courtiers, who are always ready to flatter, and comply with the Humour and Inclinations of their Sovereign, told him in a Cabinet-Council, that in pursuance of the indispensable Rules of Policy, he ought to secure the principal Lords of *Sweden*; that he cou'd not hope to preserve his Conquests, without abolishing the *Senate* of that Kingdom, which they represented as a Body of Factious Persons, who upon all occasions assum'd a Liberty to controul and oppose the Royal Authority; that there was not one Member of that Assembly, who wou'd not joyfully embrace the first Opportunity of a Revolt, to make himself Master of the Sovereign Power

Power under the Title of *Adminiſtrator*, which for ſeveral Years had been the Reward of the Authors and Fomenters of a ſucceſsful Rebellion; that he ought to rid himſelf of the Senators, who were formidable to the Crown, by reaſon of the vaſtneſs of their Eſtates, and the Authority they had over the People; and that he ought only to leave ſuch Perſons in the Kingdom, whoſe Ambition was curb'd by the meanneſs of their Condition, and who cou'd not pretend to any higher Employment than Tilling the Ground, and paying Tribute to their Sovereign. 1520.

In the mean time *Sigebrite* made it her Buſineſs to confirm the Opinion and Advice of theſe flattering Courtiers, by repreſenting to the King, that his Victory wou'd be imperfect, and the Conſequences of it doubtful and uncertain, while there were any Lords in the Kingdom, able or willing to diſpute the Lawfulneſs of his Title; that the Senators and the principal Noblemen were implacable Enemies to his Authority; that he ought to ſecure his Conqueſt, and compleat his Victory by the Death of thoſe who were in a Condition to oppoſe him; that to prevent all future Diſturbances, he ought not to ſpare even thoſe who were moſt zealous and active in promoting his Intereſt; that the ſeeming Friendſhip of the Biſhops, was only an Effect of the Ancient Emulation and Animoſity betwixt them and the Nobility; and that thoſe Ambitious Prelates would prove the moſt dangerous Rebels, if he ſhould give 'em the leaſt occaſion to ſuſpect that he intended to curb their Authority, or exclude 'em from a ſhare in the Government.

The inhuman Policies of this *She-Favorite*, were extremely agreeable to the fierce and cruel Humour of a Prince, who look'd upon the Liberty

1520. of his Subjects as inconsistent with his Honour and Safety. He imagin'd that his Authority was essentially annex'd to the Dignity of his Character, without any Dependance upon the Laws of the Kingdom, and that his Will was the only Rule and Standard of his Government. These were the Principles and Maxims by which he regulated his Actions; so that he was easily persuaded to Sacrifice the Senate, and most considerable Noblemen of *Sweden*, to the Extravagancy of his Ambition, and to secure his Conquests by the Death of so many illustrious Victims. But he wanted a specious Pretext to justify, or at least to excuse so barbarous an Attempt; for he durst not without a plausible Shew of Reason proceed to the Execution of so many Persons of Quality, who had voluntarily submitted to him, and rely'd upon the Faith of a solemn Treaty.

Sigebrite advis'd him to commit the Execution of that inhuman Sentence to the Officers of the Garrison of *Stockholm*, who, under the Pretext of a Quarrel betwixt the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the City, might encourage the former to execute their Revenge, by an universal Massacre of all the Persons of Note in the Town. But notwithstanding the Natural Impetuosity of his Temper, he was loath to venture upon an Attempt that was clogg'd with so many Difficulties, and might probably be attended with dangerous and fatal Consequences: He consider'd that the Burghers of that City were numerous, and inur'd to War by the late Siege which they had sustain'd; that the Garrison might be overpower'd, and cut to pieces in the Heat of the Tumult; and that the Success of their Resistance might serve as a Signal for a Revolt thro' the whole Kingdom.

For theſe Reaſons he choſe rather to make uſe of the Pretext of *Excommunication*, and of the pretended Injuſtice that was done to the Archbiſhop, that the People might be deluded by a certain Appearance of uniformity and coherency in all his Proceedings, and that he might ſeem to be acted only by a ſteadfaſt Zeal for executing the Pope's Bull againſt the Enemies of that Prelate. He ſpent ſome time in *Denmark*, in contriving the moſt probable Meaſures, and giving neceſſary Orders to prevent the Commotions that might happen in his Abſence; and before his departure Disbanded the *French* Troops that were in his Service. This was probably an Effect of his Complaiſance to his Brother-in-law, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, who not long before had obtain'd the Imperial Dignity; for the Soldiers were not only diſmiſs'd with all the Marks of Contempt and Diſreſpect, but treated rather as Priſoners of War, than as Allies, and Auxiliary Forces, to whoſe Valour he ow'd the beſt part of his Conqueſts. They cou'd neither obtain the Payment of their Arrears, nor a Supply of neceſſary Proviſions; nor wou'd he furniſh 'em with Ships to tranſport 'em to their own Country; ſo that they were forc'd to wander about the Country, like a Company of ſtragling Vagabonds. Many of 'em were ſtarv'd to Death, others were Maſſacred by the *Danes*, ſome were conſtrain'd to liſt themſelves in the *Daniſh* Service, and their Officers were oblig'd to encounter with a Thouſand Difficulties in bringing home the reſt.

1520.

At *Francfort*, June 10. 1519.

As ſoon as the King had order'd his Affairs in *Denmark*, he prepar'd for his Departure into *Sweden*, that he might be preſent at the Convention of the Eſtates, which he had call'd in order to the performing of the Ceremony of his Coronation. *Sigebrite* adviſ'd him to carry two *Daniſh* Sena-

1520. tors along with him, that the Cruelty of his premeditated Attempt might in ſome Meaſure be authoriz'd by their preſence, and that the Blame of ſo inhuman an Action might be laidon theſe Miniſters.

'Twas by her Advice that he made choice of *Theodore* Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, and Primate of *Denmark*, and the Biſhop of *Odenſee*, one of his Suffragans; the ſame to whom he had formerly procur'd the Bull of Excommunication to be directed, which Pope *Leo* the Tenth publiſh'd againſt the Adminiſtrator. They were intirely devoted to the Court, and were only reſpected as the Miniſters of the King's irregular Paſſions. He plac'd a great deal of Confidence in the Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, who was a Perſon of mean Birth, and could neither be reckon'd a *Scholar* nor a *Stateſman*; but to make amends for theſe Defects, he was a moſt ingenious Contriver of new and refin'd Pleaſures, and admirably well acquainted with all the Secrets and Improvements of that myſterious Art. He ow'd his Advancement, and the Favour of his Maſter to *Sigebrite*, who firſt brought him to Court to ſerve her in the Quality of a Spy, and afterwards rais'd him from the mean Office of the King's *Barber*, to the Dignity of Archbiſhop of *Lunden*. And as he had the good Fortune to be ſupported by ſo powerful a Benefactreſs, he quickly became the Favorite and Confident of his Maſter, by furniſhing him with a conſtant Supply of freſh and diverſify'd Pleaſures.

The King ſet Sail for *Sweden*, accompany'd with the Queen his Wife, and attended by all the Court. But *Sigebrite* declin'd the Voyage, either becauſe ſhe was unwilling to expoſe herſelf to the Satyrical Mirth of the *Swediſh* Lords, who were oftentimes wont to make the King's extravagant Paſſion

Paſſion to his old Miſtreſs, the Subject of their Wit and Diverſion; or becauſe that Prince thought fit to leave her at *Copenhagen*, to obſerve the Motions of the Senate. 1520.

At his Arrival in *Sweden*, he receiv'd an Ambaſſador from the Emperor, who came to inveſt him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and to congratulate his Victories, and the happy Succeſs of allhis Deſigns. The Concern which the Emperor expreſs'd for promoting the Intereſt of his Brother-in-law, was too warm and zealous to be reckon'd meerly an Effect of their *Affinity*, which ſeldom or never produces ſo ſtrong an Affection among *Sovereigns*. 'Tis thought that aſpiring Prince beſtow'd his Siſter upon the King of *Denmark*, on Condition that he ſhou'd declare him to be his Succeſſor in the three Kingdoms of the *North*, in Caſe he ſhou'd die without Iſſue. Thoſe who are acquainted with the Character of *Charles* V. will never ſuppoſe him guilty of neglecting to take the moſt promiſing Meaſures, to ſecure ſo important a Branch of the *Univerſal Monarchy*. This was his belov'd Project, the Object of all his Hopes and Deſires, and the Aiery Miſtreſs whom he courted, or rather ador'd with ſo eager and laſting a Paſſion. And the ſame Fondneſs for that imaginary Scheme ſeems to have been entail'd upon his Family and Succeſſors, till the Terror and Rapidity of the *Swediſh* Conqueſts, and the fortunate Valor of their Royal Leader rouz'd the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. out of his Golden Dream, and inſtead of a vain Ambition to extend his Empire over all *Europe*, oblig'd him to content himſelf with defending the Hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Guſtavus Adolphus.* 1631.

Chriſtiern put off the Ceremony of receiving the Order of the *Golden Fleece* till the day of his *Coronation*, that the Solemnity might be more ſplendid and

1520. and magnificent: And in the mean time he took ſecret Meaſures with the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, to execute their Revenge upon their common Enemies. The Reſult of their Conſultation was, that the Archbiſhop ſhou'd appear in the Convention, and preſent an Addreſs to the King, demanding Juſtice againſt thoſe who depriv'd him of his Dignity and Eſtate. Matters being thus concerted, the King open'd the Meeting of the Eſtates, where he was ſolemnly acknowledg'd as the lawful Sovereign of *Sweden*. The next Day the Archbiſhop perform'd the Ceremony of his Coronation; and the King ſwore upon the Goſpels, and the Reliques of the Saints, That he wou'd inviolably preſerve and maintain the Laws, Privileges, and Cuſtoms of the Nation. The Senate, Clergy, Nobility, and the Deputies of the Provinces took the uſual Oath of Fidelity to him; and the Emperor's Ambaſſador appearing in the midſt of the Aſſembly, preſented him with the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and in his Maſter's Name wiſh'd him a proſperous and ſucceſsful Reign.

November 4.

Afterwards, the new King invited all the Lords to a magnificent Feaſt, which he had order'd to be prepar'd in the Caſtle, as a publick Mark of his Joy upon this Occaſion of his Acceſſion to the Crown. The Senate in a Body, and all the principal Noblemen, who were then at *Stockholm*, attended his Majeſty in Obedience to his Deſire: The two firſt Days were ſpent in Entertainments, and all manner of ſolemn and diverting Recreations; the King receiv'd his Gueſts with all the Marks of an obliging Kindneſs and Familiarity, and the mutual Averſion, which had been ſo long fomented betwixt the two oppoſite Factions, ſeem'd to be entirely forgotten and extinguiſh'd. The *Swedes* endeavour'd to loſe the Memory of their ancient Fears and Jealouſies, and flatter'd themſelves

themſelves with the Proſpect of a laſting and undiſturb'd Happineſs; but on the third Day they were awaken'd out of their exceſſive Security in a moſt terrible and ſurprizing Manner. 1520.

The Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, accompanied with his Relations and Creatures, appear'd before the King in a full Meeting of the Eſtates, and publickly demanded Juſtice againſt the deceas'd *Adminiſtrator*, and all the Senators and Lords of the Kingdom, who forc'd him to reſign his Dignity, and demoliſh'd the Fort of *Steque*, which belong'd to the Patrimony of the Church. The King declin'd medling with an Affair, of which he pretended that the Pope's Commiſſioners were the only proper Judges, and deſir'd the Archbiſhop to propoſe his Grievances to the Two *Daniſh* Prelates, to whom the Bull publiſh'd by *Leo* X. was directed, proteſting that he wou'd only make uſe of his Authority to execute their Sentence according to the Bull, and the Intentions of the Holy Father.

Immediately the Two *Daniſh* Prelates, who where the ſecret Miniſters of the Paſſions of that Monarch, requir'd and demanded, that the *Adminiſtrator*'s Widow ſhou'd be brought before 'em, to give an Account of her Husbands Actions: tho' it was both inconſiſtent with Reaſon, and the uſual Methods of proceeding in ſuch Caſes, that a Woman ſhou'd be made accountable for the Behaviour of her Husband, in the Management of Affairs of State, concerning which Perſons of that Sex are very rarely conſulted. However the King, without conſidering the Juſtice of their Demand, oblig'd the Princeſs to come to the Aſſembly. She appear'd before him with a modeſt Aſſurance, and at firſt refus'd to plead before the Pope's Commiſſioners. She put the King in mind of the Treaties of *Upſal* and *Stockholm*, by which he ſolemnly oblig'd

1520. oblig'd himself to bury all that was past in Oblivion, conjuring him to let her Husband rest quietly in his Grave, and to pity the Fate of a Princess who had nothing left but her Fears and Sorrow. But that inexorable Prince, with a seeming Calmness, referr'd the Hearing of her Defence to the Pope's Commissioners, under pretext that the *Archbishop*'s Complaint had no Relation to the Differences that were formerly betwixt him and the *Administrator*.

The Princess perceiving that the King was inflexible, and that she must resolve to defend the Actions of the Prince her Husband, answer'd at last with a great deal of Courage, that the *Administrator* besieg'd the Archbishop, and demolish'd his Castle by virtue of express Order from the *Estates* and *Senate* of the Kingdom; that the Archbishop was arraign'd and convicted of Treason against his Country, according to the usual Forms of proceeding in such Cases that were prescrib'd by the Laws of the Nation; and that his Sentence was still extant in the Publick Registers, sign'd by all the Senators both Secular and Ecclesiastical.

Tho' the King was acquainted with all the Circumstances of that Affair, he sent for the Registers, and order'd the Archbishop's Sentence to be read publickly before the Assembly, with the Names of all those who subscrib'd it: after which he went out, as if he had only withdrawn that the Commissioners might not be under the least Appearance of a Constraint. But immediately after the whole Assembly was alarm'd with the sight of a Troop of his Guards, who came by his Order to arrest the Administrator's Widow, the Senators, Bishops, and all the *Swedish* Lords and Gentlemen that were in the Castle.

The

The *Daniſh* Biſhops, By virtue of the Pope's Commiſſion, began to proceed againſt 'em as Hereticks, as if the Inquiſition had been eſtabliſh'd in that Country. But the King of *Denmark* being unwilling to looſe time in examining and convicting thoſe whom he had already doom'd to Deſtruction, and fearing leaſt their Friends ſhou'd make an attempt to relieve 'em, reſolv'd to diſpence with the Formality of a Tryal, and ſent Executioners to acquaint the Priſoners with their approaching Fate. 1520. *Novemb.*

The Eighth of *November* was the day appointed for the Fatal Solemnity. In the Morning a Proclamation was publiſh'd by the Heralds with ſound of Trumpet, prohibiting all Perſons, in the King's Name, to go out of the City, upon pain of Death. The whole Garriſon was in Arms, and there were *Corps de Guard* at all the Gates, and in all the publick Places of the City. The Great Guns were mounted in the Market-place, with their Mouth's turn'd toward the principal Streets; the People were ſeiz'd with Terror, and expected with a melancholic impatience the event of theſe unuſual Preparations. At laſt, about Noon, the Gates of the Caſtle were open'd, and diſclos'd the mournful Scene: A Troop of Illuſtrious Victims, who for the moſt part were ſtill adorn'd with the Badges of their Dignity, march'd out in a diſmal Pomp, and were led by their Executioners to the Slaughter.

As ſoon as they came to the Place of Execution, a *Daniſh* Officer read the Pope's Bull aloud as if it had been the Sentence of their Condemnation; adding that they were Executed by the Orders of the Apoſtolical Commiſſioners, and the Advice of the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*. The Biſhops and the reſt of the Lords begg'd earneſtly that ſome *Confeſſors* might be ſuffer'd to aſſiſt 'em

1520. 'em at their Death: But the Inhumane King refus'd to grant 'em the last Comfort they were capable of enjoying, either to glut his implacable Rage with the barbarons delight of exposing his Enemies to Punishments in another World, or becauſe he was unwilling to treat 'em as *Catholicks* after they had been Condemn'd as *Hereticks*. Nor was the cruelty of his Policy leſs remarkable in the Reſolution he took to Sacrifice his Friends, that people might not ſuſpect that his pretended *Zeal* was meerly the Effect of *Revenge*. The Biſhops of *Stregnez* and *Scara* were known to be devoted to his Intereſt, but all the Faithful and Important Services they had done him cou'd not procure ſo much as a Mitigation of their Sentence: Their being Members of the Senate was their Crime, and their Signing the Archbiſhops Condemnation was the pretext of their Puniſhment.

Yet the Biſhop of *Lincoping* eſcap'd the fatal Blow; for as the Executioner was juſt going to cut off his Head, he told the *Daniſh* Officer who was appointed by the King to ſee the Execution perform'd, that he might find an undeniable Proof of his Innocence under the Signet of his Coat of Arms, which he had affix'd to the Archbiſhop's Sentence, and begg'd him to ſend ſome Perſon to examine the truth of his Aſſertion. The King being inform'd of his Requeſt lifted up the Wax with his own Hand, and found a little Note, which that cunning Prelate had ſlipt under it, as if he had foreſeen the Tragical Conſequences of that Affair. He proteſted, in the Note, that he was forc'd to Sign the Archbiſhop's Sentence to avoid the Indignation of his Enemies, who threaten'd to treat him after the ſame manner. This Politic Contrivance ſav'd his Life, for the King order'd him to be ſet at liberty, to ſhow that,

Jonh Brach. *Lecc. l. 5. p.* 203. Olaus Magnus, *an Eye-witneſs.* Ziglerus, *an Eye-witneſs of the Maſſacre of* Stockholm.

that he only design'd to punish the Archbishop's Enemies, and those of the Administrator's Party who he pretended, were involv'd in the Sentence of Excommunication which the Pope pronounc'd against that Prince. 1520.

Then they proceeded to the Execution of the Lay-Senators, beginning with *Eric*, *Gustavus*'s Father. The *Consuls* and *Magistrates* of *Stockholm*, and *Ninety four* Lords who were arrested in the Castle underwent the same Fate. Yet the King instead of being satisfi'd with the Death of so many illustrious Persons, was extremely vex'd, that some Lords, whom he had particularly inserted in the black Roll, had escap'd his Fury. He imagin'd that they lay conceal'd in the Town, and was so afraid least they shou'd make their Escape, and so desirous to discover *Gustavus*, who he thought might be hid in some House in the City, that to give a full Scope to his Vengeance, he resolv'd to confound the Innocent with the Guilty, and to expose the Town to the Fury of his Soldiers. Assoon as they had receiv'd those bloody Orders, they fell upon the People that were come to be Witnesses of that dismal Spectacle, and promiscuously murder'd all that had the misfortune to be in their way. Afterwards they broke into the Principal Houses, under pretext of searching for *Gustavus*: and the rest of the proscrib'd Lords: The Citizens were stabb'd in the Arms of their howling Wives, their Houses were plunder'd, and the Honor of their Wives and Daughters was expos'd to the brutish Lust of the Soldiers. None were spar'd, but those who were protected either by *Poverty* or *Uglineſs*: All the rest were made a Prey to the Rage of the Soldiers, who by the Orders and after the Example of their Inhumane Sovereign, strove to outdo each other in the wildest and most extravagant Barbarity.

Eric Abraham Eric Johanson, Eric Canut, Eric Rining, Eric *and* Eschille Nicolai, Joschim Brahe, Magnus Green, Eric Kusius, Olaus Beron, Gunnar Gallus, Benedict Erici John Gudmund, Andrew Olai, *and* Andrew Erici, *Consuls of* Stockholm.

A Cer-

1520. A certain Gentleman of the *Swedish* Nation was so sensibly touch'd with the moving sight of so many deplorable Objects, that he cou'd not restrain the Impetuosity of his Grief, nor behold such a Scene of Terror without bewailing the Misery of his Country. The furious King was so enrag'd at those Marks of Compassion which his guilty Conscience interpreted as secret Reproaches of his Cruelty, that he commanded the Unfortunate Mourner to be fasten'd to a Gibbet. His Privy Members were cut off, his Belly ript up, and his Heart pluck'd out, as if *Pity* and *Compassion* had been the foulest and most Enormous *Crimes*. Afterwards the King pretending that the *Administrator*, by incurring the Sentence of *Excommunication* had render'd himself unworthy of *Christian Burial*, order'd his Body to be taken up and expos'd in the publick Place among the mangl'd Carkasses of his Ancient Friends. He issu'd out an Order that no Person shou'd presume to bury any of these Bodies upon Pain of Death; and wou'd have suffer'd 'em to lie in the open Place as a terrible Monument of his Vengeance, if the Stench and Putrefaction had not oblig'd him to command 'em to be taken away. But before they were remov'd, he cou'd not forbear going on purpose to take a view of the dismal Trophies of his Fury. At last he order'd 'em to be carry'd out of the City and *Burnt*, that even Death itself might not exempt 'em from a second Punishment, which he pretended to inflict upon 'em as *Excommunicated* Persons.

Afterwards he ordain'd that the *Administrater*'s Widow shou'd be drown'd, but the Execution of that cruel Sentence was prevented by Admiral *Norbi*, who under a seeming Complaisance and Resignation to all the Humors and Inclinations of his Master conceal'd a secret Project

ject of high and ambitious Deſigns. He was perſuaded that ſo Tyrannical a Government could not be long maintain'd; he ſaw himſelf Maſter of a potent Fleet, Governor of the Iſle of *Gothland* that lies oppoſite to the Coaſt of *Sweden*, and of the City of *Calmar* which was the ſecond Port in the Kingdom. He plac'd ſo much Confidence in his Power and in his Intereſt at Court, that he did not think himſelf oblig'd to ſet any Limits to his aſpiring Deſires: He fancy'd that he might one Day raiſe himſelf above the Quality of a *Subject*, and lay aſide the Title of a *Favourite* to aſſume that of a *Prince*. He flatter'd his Ambition with the ſecret hopes of marrying the *Adminiſtrator*'s Widow, concluding that her Intereſt and Authority would facilitate his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Sweden*, or at leaſt to the Dignity of *Adminiſtrator*. and therefore to ſave that Princeſſe's Life, he told the King his Maſter that ſhe would deliver up all her Husband's Treaſures for her Ranſom. The King, who was as *Covetous* as *Cruel*, conſented to recall her Doom upon that Condition, and imagining that ſhe was extremly oblig'd to his Mercy for changing her Puniſhment to a perpetual Impriſonment. He ſent her to *Denmark*, with *Guſtavus*'s Mother and Siſter, and the reſt of the *Swediſh* Ladies whoſe Huſbands periſh'd in the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*. They were thrown into different Priſons where they were very ill treated without any regard to their Birth, Sex or Beauty, and kept them as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of the Children and Relations they left in *Sweden*. 1520.

Chriſtiern imagin'd that he had eſtabliſh'd his Authority by this Maſſacre of all the Principal Nobility, he thought himſelf too Powerful, and too Formidable to the reſt of the *Swedes* to be a-

1520. fraid of 'em, he chang'd the Form of the Government at his Pleaſure, and order'd Matters as in a conquer'd Country, he oppreſs'd the People with new Taxes, he threatned the *Peaſants* to cauſe one of their Feet and Hands to be cut off, adding in a kind of Raillery, that a *Peaſant*, who was born for the Plow, and not for the War, ought to content himſelf with one Hand, and a wooden Leg.

He nominated *Theodorus* Archbiſhop of *Lunden*, Vice-roy in his Abſence, and appointed the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and the Biſhop of *Oldenſee* for his Miniſters and Counſellors, advancing theſe two *Daniſh* Prelates, by his abſolute Power, to the rich Biſhopricks of *Stregnez*, and *Scara*, without any regard to the Rights of theſe two Churches, which had a Privilege to chooſe their own Biſhops. And he had alſo Intereſt enough at *Rome*, to induce the Pope to allow of the Intruſion of theſe two *Daniſh* Prelates, whoſe Hands were in a manner imbru'd in the Blood of their Brethren. *Chriſtiern* at his Departure, gave Orders to ſpare neither Pains nor Coſt, to diſcover *Guſtavus*'s Retreat; he ſet a Price upon his Head, and promis'd conſiderable Summs of Mony to thoſe that ſhou'd bring him Priſoner, dead or alive, after which he return'd to *Denmark*, laden with the Curſes of the *Swedes*, by whom he was ſtyl'd the Northern *Nero*.

His Troops in his Abſence continu'd the Barbarities, they had exercis'd in the Capital City, many Lords were ſurpriz'd, and Maſſacr'd in their Caſtles by his Order, without laying any other Crime to their Charge, than that they were eminent for their Birth and Courage, neither was the ordinary Pretext of Excommunication any longer made uſe of; it was Crime enough to be accus'd of being too Rich, or of having

ving Intereſt in the Province. The Vice-Roy ſwallow'd up in Pleaſure, ſpent his Time in heaping up Mony, by the Confiſcation of the Goods and Eſtates of thoſe that were daily Out-law'd: The chief Officers of his Army ravag'd the Provinces, every one's Troop being independent and ſeparate, without any Order or Diſcipline; and among ſo many different Intereſts, and ſo little Subjection, they thought of nothing elſe but Pillaging and Oppreſſing the People. 1520.

The Nobility terrify'd with ſo many Maſſacres, and not well united among themſelves, deſtitute of a Head, Money and Forces, were oblig'd, to avoid the *Daniſh* Cruelty, to ſubmit to the Archbiſhop: So that every one ſtrove to court this Prelate, and every one wou'd be thought to have done it always. It ſeem'd as if all the *Sweediſh* Gentry had periſh'd in the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*, for no Body would acknowledge that they had ſerv'd in the Adminiſtrator's Army; the greater part of the Nobility were glad to be employ'd in the Vice-Roy's Troops, as a ſecure *Aſylum*: And the Calamities of *Sweden* were ſo great, that even their Happineſs was envy'd that were allow'd to be Soldier, tho' to fight againſt their own Country.

Admiral *Norbi* feigning to commiſerate this deplorable State of *Sweden*, receiv'd many Gentlemen on board his Ships, and into his Governments; and affected to treat 'em with all manner of Civility, with Relation to his ſecret Deſigns: Thoſe that were not under his Protection, being uncertain of their Fate, and always between Hope and Deſpair, were expos'd to the Inſolence and Avarice of the *Danes*, and it was dangerous for thoſe who were not of the Archbiſhop's Party to be poſſeſs'd of an Eſtate:

1520. And thoſe who had been his Enemies, were forc'd either to eſcape by Flight, or reſolve to dye: For this haughty Prelate pardon'd none, but deſtroy'd all his Adverſaries under pretence of Sacrificing them to the publick Safety; but above all, he endeavour'd to make himſelf Maſter of *Guſtavus*'s Perſon, whom he hated as a Kinſman and Favourite of the deceas'd *Adminiſtrator*; beſides he knewvery well that he could not better make his Court to *Chriſtiern* than by Impriſoning or Deſtroying that Lord.

Gaſtavus during his Retreat look'd about him on all ſides to ſee if he could diſcover any thing that would favour his Deſigns; he had privately ſent to *Stockholm*, that old Servant at whoſe Houſe he lay conceal'd, to inform him of the Occurrences of the State. And at his return it was that he heard of the Death of his Father and all the Senators, and the general Maſſacre that had happen'd in that miſerable City; this ſo lamentable a piece of News, did extreamly afflict him, the Death of ſo many Lords, having taken off all his Family and Friends, and almoſt depriv'd him of all Means and Hopes of ſaving himſelf. He knew not what Meaſures to take, nor whither to retire; for he was encompaſs'd with *Daniſh* Troops, and knew very well that beſides the great promiſes, to any that ſhould diſcover him, all thoſe were threatned with Death that had conceal'd, or ſhould not immediately deliver him up. So that he durſt not ſtir from the place where he was in, nor truſt any of the *Swedes*, leſt the great Rewards ſhould make 'em betray him. He reſolv'd in this exigence privately to retreat to the Mountains of *Dalecarlia*, hoping he might eaſily lie hid in the Woods with which that County is cover'd, and imagin'd, that it would not be difficult to cauſe

cauſe the Inhabitants to Revolt, being the laſt of the Kingdom that ſubmitted to the *Daniſh* Dominion. There was not one good Town in the whole Province, and hardly any but ſmall Villages Situated on the Edges of the Foreſts, or on the Banks of Lakes and Rivers; ſome of theſe Villages depended on the Gentlemen of the Country, but moſt belong'd to the Crown and were Govern'd by the *Peaſants* themſelves; the Elders in every Villages ſupply'd the place of Judges and Captains, tho' theſe were neither more powerful nor Richer than their Neighbours; the Honour of Commander conſiſting only in the Privilege of Fighting at the Head of the Troops; for the chief Power was in the Hands of the Multitude, who Aſſembl'd on Holy-days, and took upon them to determine all manner of Affairs. 1520.

The Government durſt not ſend either Troops or Garriſons into this Province, nor did the Kings themſelves ever enter it, till they had given Pledges to the Inhabitants for maintaining their Privileges; they manag'd with caution this Savage People who inhabited inacceſſible Mountains, leſt they ſhould diſcover that it was in their power no longer to obey, and were contented with the Tribute of a few Skins only from theſe *Peaſants*, and for the reſt they were ſuffer'd to Live according to their own particular Cuſtoms, which were very different from thoſe of the other Provinces.

Guſtavus in the Diſguiſe of a *Peaſant*, ſet forward on his way to theſe Mountains, accompany'd only with a Country Fellow, who ſerv'd for his Guide. He croſs'd over the whole Country of *Sudermania*, then paſs'd between *Nericia* and *Weſtmania*, and after the Fatigues of a long and dangerous Journey, arriv'd ſafe in that part of

1520. the Mountains of *Dalecarlia* which the Natives call'd *Daalfield.*

He had no ſooner enter'd into the Country, but he was abandon'd by his Guide, who robb'd him of all the Money that he had provided for his Suſiſtence: He wander'd up and down in thoſe dreadful Mountains, and amidſt thoſe Savages, deſtitute of Company, Friends and Money; not daring to own his Name, or diſcover himſelf, he was forc'd for a Living, and to be conceal'd, to hire himſelf for a Labourer and to work in the Copper-Mines, from whence the People of theſe Parts have their chiefeſt Subſiſtance, he was always at work with the other Miners to get his Livlihood, and lay bury'd as it were in thoſe Subterranean Work-houſes.

Guſtavus hop'd that the Miſery of his Condition might ſerve at leaſt to conceal him, and that they would never think of ſearching for the General of the *Swediſh* Horſe in ſo ſorry a Habitation, notwithſtanding which, he was diſcover'd and known in this Diſguiſe: For a Woman in whoſe Houſe he lodg'd accidentally perceiv'd under his Labourers Habit, a Silk Robe Embroider'd with Gold which News was ſoon carry'd to the whole Village, and came to the Ears of the Lord of the Place, who, either out of Curioſity of ſeeing a Stranger whoſe Genteel Mien was much talk'd of, or rather, that this Diſguiſe made him believe him to be one of the Proſcrib'd, came to the Mines with intent to offer him his Houſe and to contribute to his Safety: But was extremely ſurpriz'd when he found it to be *Guſtavus*, whom it was not very difficult for him to diſcover, becauſe he had ſpent his Youth with him in the Univerſity of *Upſal*: And tho' he was much concern'd to ſee this Young Lord in

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ſo miſerable a Condition, yet he feign'd not to know him, leſt it might diſcover him to others; but as ſoon as he return'd to his Houſe he ſent for him by a private Meſſenger, and having in a moſt obliging manner told him that he knew him, gave him all poſſible Aſſurances of his Service and Friendſhip, and entreated him to accept of his Houſe, where he might lie hid more ſecurely than in the Mines, and in his tranſport of Compaſſion and Kindneſs promis'd him to cauſe his Friends and Vaſſals to take up Arms in his Defence if the *Danes* ſhould attempt to offer Violence to him in his Houſe. *Guſtavus* accepted theſe Offers with a great deal of Joy; and at firſt liv'd with him as if he had no other Deſign than to avoid the purſuit of his Enemies; but at the ſame time employ'd himſelf in getting Information of the Strength of the Province, and in finding out the Inclinations of the Inhabitants of the new Government. 1520.

His Landlord told him the *Darlicarlians* ſuffer'd the *Daniſh* Tyranny with great Impatience, that they publickly murmur'd at certain Taxes that *Chriſtiern* had impos'd on 'em, which tho' ſmall in reality, appear'd exceſſive and intolerable becauſe they were new; and that the People deteſted the King of *Denmark*'s Cruelty: He added, that he doubted not but the *Peaſants* would Revolt of themſelves, if the *Danes* continu'd to infringe their Privileges; afterwards he boaſted of the Strength of *Dalecarlia* with an Exaggeration that is uſual in thoſe that would make their Country be valu'd: He told him, that that Province alone was able to raiſe Twenty thouſand Men, that all the *Peaſants* were born Soldiers, and by the help of their Mountains could ſtop and defeat all *Chriſtiern*'s Forces; this Diſcourſe

1520. being ſeveral times repeated, induc'd *Guſtavus* to reſolve to Attempt to make the Province Revolt, which he diſcover'd to his Landlord, and conjur'd him to aſſiſt in it; he repreſented to him, That the Kingdom was involv'd in the greateſt Calamities; that neither the Faith of Treaties, nor the Submiſſion and Obedience of the People could bound or ſatisfy the bloody Inclinations of *Chriſtiern*, that eſpecially it ſeem'd that this barbarous King had ſworn the Death of all the *Swediſh* Nobility, that the Maſſacre at *Stockholm*, was but a Prelude to the Cruelty and Outrages which his Troops exercis'd in the Provinces, that the News was daily brought of the barbarous Murder of ſome Gentleman or other, that it was more generous, and a ſurer way to prevent and ſurprize the *Danes*, than Cowardly to wait till they Invaded the Province and Maſſacred the People in their own Houſes.

But this Gentleman terrify'd with the Danger of the Enterprize, upon apprehenſion of the formidable Power of the *Danes*, declin'd being concern'd in it, *where are*, (ſaid he to *Guſtavus*) *the Forces neceſſary for carrying on ſo great a Deſign, and what Army have you to oppoſe the Enemy's Troops, which ſeem hitherto to have had ſome regard to our Privileges, but will outragiouſly over-run the whole Province upon the firſt Motion we ſhall make?*

It ſeem'd as if Fear made this Gentleman forget what he had juſt before told him of the Strength of his Province, and the Inclinations of its Inhabitants; for he ſought new Reaſons to overthrow the former, and to oblige *Guſtavus* to take other Meaſures; he enlarg'd with much Heat upon the Political Conſiderations, not ſo much indeed out of Affection to his Perſon as to juſtify that it was not for want of Courage and

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Zeal for his Country that he declin'd engaging in his Deſigns. But perceiving that *Guſtavus* conſtantly perſever'd in his Reſolution to take up Arms and Publickly to declare againſt the *Danes* he adviſ'd him to defer, at leaſt for ſome time the Execution of his Enterprize, he told him that perhaps he might meet with a lucky Opportunity when the whole Province might of it's ſelf be diſpos'd to Revolt, that the *Peaſants* had little regard to the Intereſt of the Gentry, whom they always look'd upon as ſevere Maſters, that tho' they ſeem'd to pity the Fate of the Lords and Senators who periſh'd in the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*, they had never hitherto diſcovered any Inclination to Revenge their Death upon their Murtherers; but that the leaſt Attempt of the *Danes* to violate the Privileges of the People would infallibly occaſion a general Revolt; and that he was perſuaded the *Daniſh* Army would march to *Dalecarlia* as ſoon as they had compleated the ruin of the reſt of the Kingdom. That then the *Peaſants* would be oblig'd to take up Arms in their own Defence; that he was reſolv'd to let others begin the Revolt, and would neither envy the Glory nor Danger of ſo raſh an undertaking. He conjur'd him to wait patiently at his Houſe till the People ſhou'd appear in Arms; inſinuating that wherever the Revolt ſhould begin, the leading Men of the Party would always be ready to yield him that ſubmiſſion which they ow'd to his Birth and Merit; And concluded with adviſing him not to ruin ſo generous a Deſign by a prepoſterous haſte in the execution of it; leaſt, inſtead of becoming the Avenger and Deliverer of his Countrey, he ſhould only furniſh the *Danes* with a new pretext to compleat the Deſtruction of the whole Nation. 1520.

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1520. *Guſtavus* was too judicious and reſolute to be either deceiv'd or convinc'd by his Landlord's Arguments; but tho' he was ſenſible that his pretended Caution and Policy, was rather the effect of his Fear than Prudence, he could not be offended at the Weakneſs of a Man whom he look'd upon as an Object of Compaſſion. He was ſo far from ſuſpecting that he was a ſecret Well-wiſher to the *Daniſh* Intereſt, or that he was capable of betraying his Gueſt, that he did him the Juſtice to believe the Sincerity of his Affection to his Country; but at the ſame time he perceiv'd that the difficulty of the Attempt deterr'd him from engaging in it. And therefore inſtead of reproaching him with Cowardice and Puſillanimity, he contented himſelf with conjuring him to keep the Secret with which he had entruſted him; and reſolv'd upon a ſpeedy Departure to free his Timorous Landlord of the Trouble and Uneaſineſs which he might ſuffer upon his Account. He ſet out alone, and in the Night, to avoid Suſpicion, and after ſeveral Days Journey thro' the Woods, arriv'd at the Seat of another Gentleman, call'd *Peterſon*, whom he knew in the Army, and hop'd he would receive and embrace his Propoſals with more Courage and Reſolution.

Peterſon receiv'd him with all the Marks of an obliging Civility; and entertain'd him with that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which is uſually ſo agreeable to great Perſons when they are under a Cloud. He ſeem'd to be more ſenſibly afflicted with his Misfortunes than *Guſtavus* himſelf: He exclaim'd againſt the Tyranny of the *Danes*; and chearfully embrac'd the firſt Propoſal which *Guſtavus* made to him ſome Days after his arrival, to Form a Party, and engage all his Vaſſals and Followers in the Deſign. *Guſta-*

Guſtavus was extremely glad that he had at laſt found a Man who was not afraid to draw his Sword in the defence of his Countrey; and endeavor'd by all the moſt winning Expreſſions of Kindneſs, and by the ſure proſpect of a ſuitable Recompence to confirm him in ſo generous a Reſolution. *Peterſon* anſwer'd him with repeated aſſurances of an inviolable Fidelity: he named the Gentlemen and the chief Perſons among the Peaſants whom he hop'd to engage in the Attempt: and ſome days after he went privately from his Houſe, in order, as he pretended, to put the deſign in Execution. 1520.

But under the ſpecious pretext of a zealous Affection to *Guſtavus*, the treacherous *Dalecarlian* was contriving his Ruine. The hope of making his Court to the new King, and the Expectation of a large reward, made him reſolve to ſacrifice his Honor to his Ambition, and to violate the moſt ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality by betraying his Illuſtrious Gueſt. In purſuance of that baſe Reſolution he went ſtraight to one of King *Chriſtiern*'s Officers, and inform'd him that *Guſtavus* lay conceal'd at his Houſe. The *Daniſh* Officer march'd thither Immediately at the head of a Party of Soldiers: he inveſted the Houſe, and took poſſeſſion of the Principal Gate which *Peterſon* deliver'd up to him. He concluded that he had done his Maſter a very important and acceptable piece of ſervice, by ſecuring his moſt terrible Enemy. But he had the mortification to find that he had taken a great deal of pains to no purpoſe: For *Guſtavus* had made his Eſcape the Night before, and even ow'd his Preſervation to the Wife of the Traitor that deſign'd to betray him. She was prompted by Pity, and perhaps by a more tender Paſſion, to diſco-

1520. diſcover her Husband's Plot, and not only ſent *Guſtavus* away in the Night, but order'd a Servant in whom ſhe plac'd a more than ordinary Confidence to carry him to the Houſe of a Curate, who was one of her Friends. Thus by the Kindneſs and Diſcretion of that generous Lady, and by the Secrecy of her faithful Servant, *Guſtavus* eſcap'd the Snare that was laid for him, and avoided the Purſuit of his Enemies, who could neither diſcover the Occaſion of his Flight, nor the place whither he retir'd.

The Curate receiv'd him with all the Civility and Reſpect which he ow'd to his Birth, and to the Recommendation of the Perſon that entruſted him with ſo important a Secret. He was a ſincere lover of his Country, and did not think himſelf oblig'd to follow the Maxims of the Clergy, ſince he had no deſign to raiſe his Fortune by aſpiring to higher Preferment. He aſſur'd *Guſtavus* of an inviolable Secrecy, and leaſt the Place of his abode ſhould be diſcover'd by the Infidelity, or Indiſcretion of the Servant that brought him thither, he carry'd him to his Church, and hid him in a place that was wholly at his Diſpoſal, and of which he alone kept the Keys.

He viſited him every Day, and by degrees began to feel a ſecret and reſiſtleſs Inclination to love and eſteem him; which was the uſual Effect of the Preſence and Converſation of that young Lord. Nor did the generous Curate content himſelf with expreſſing his Affection to *Guſtavus*'s Perſon; he approv'd his Reſolution, and encourag'd him to undertake the great Attempt, aſſuring him that he would employ all his Intereſt in the Village, and engage all his Acquaintance in other Places, to carry on the Deſign with the utmoſt Vigor and Diligence. But at the

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ſame time he acknowledg'd that he could neither adviſe him to deſire the Aſſiſtance, nor rely upon the Fidelity of the *Dalecarlian* Gentlemen. 1520.

He inform'd, that the Nobility and Gentry of that Province, contented themſelves with a ſecure Enjoyment of their Eſtates, and the independent Authority they aſſum'd in their inacceſſible Mountains; that they neither thought themſelves concern'd in the Motions and Revolutions of the Court, nor regarded the publick Intereſt of the Nation; that they were ſeldom willing, and ſometimes unable to make their Vaſſals take up Arms; and that they would hardly be perſuaded to ingage in a War, ſince it either depriv'd 'em of their principal Riches, which conſiſted in the Number of their Followers, or made the *Peaſants* leſs tractable after their Return, and more apt to revolt againſt their Maſters. And therefore he concluded, that 'twou'd be his beſt and ſafeſt Method, to apply himſelf immediately to the *Peaſants*, aſſuring him that he might expect a more vigorous and effectual Aſſiſtance from 'em, if they ſhou'd take up Arms, and declare for him of their own accord, than if the Villages were only engag'd by the Anthority of their reſpective Lords.

After they had conſulted together about the moſt proper Expedients, to put their Deſign in Execution, they agreed that 'twou'd be highly conducive to the Succeſs of the intended Enterprize, to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the *Peaſants*, and prepare 'em for an Inſurrection, by giving out that the *Danes* were juſt ready to enter into the Province to levy new Taxes and Impoſitions. The Curate undertook to ſpread the Report, and aſſur'd *Guſtavus* that he wou'd ſhortly make it the Publick News of the Country, by the joint

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1520. Aſſiſtance of the reſt of the Curates in that Diſtrict, who for the moſt part were either his Relations or Correſpondents. Afterwards he adviſ'd him to go to *Mora*, a populous Dioceſs or Pariſh, about Twelve *Swediſh* Leagues in Compaſs; where every Year during the *Chriſtmas-Holy-days* there was an extraordinary Concourſe of *Peaſants*, from all the neighbouring Villages. He told him that he could neither expect nor deſire a more favourable Opportunity to propoſe his Deſign to the *Peaſants*, who were never bolder, nor more eaſily perſwaded to revolt than in ſuch Publick Aſſemblies, where they have a full View of their Numbers and Strength. And in the mean time he promis'd to ſecure and engage the principal and leading Perſons that he might not be in any Danger, tho' the Crowd ſhould reject his Propoſals,

In purſuance of the Curat's advice, *Guſtavus* went to *Mora* on the day appointed, where he found the *Peaſants* already acquainted with his deſign to make 'em a viſit, and expecting with impatience to ſee a Man of whoſe merit and valor they had receiv'd ſo advantageous a Character, one that was equally illuſtrious both for his Birth and Courage, and had acquir'd more Glory by *Chriſtiern*'s hatred than by the Favour of *Steno*. He laid aſide his uſual Habit, and took care that his Dreſs ſhould be ſutable to his Quality, to engage the attention of the People, who are apt to be dazzl'd with the external marks of Grandeur. Afterwards he appear'd in the Aſſembly with a certain Noble Fierceneſs in his Air, which was ſomewhat allay'd and ſoften'd by a mixture of Tenderneſs and Grief for the Death of his Father and all the reſt of the Senate. And that Majeſtick ſorrow, which the

the admiring Multitude obſerv'd in his Countenance and actions, inſpir'd 'em at the ſame time with a ſubmiſſive reſpect and a tender and affectionate Compaſſion. 1520.

After he had entertain'd 'em with a general but lively deſcription of the deplorable and almoſt hopeleſs condition of their native Countrey he repreſented to 'em, with a pathetick and moving Eloquence, that the Senators aud principal Lords of the Kingdom were barbarouſly Maſſacred by *Chriſtern*'s Order; that by the ſame Prince's Command the Magiſtrates of *Stockholm* were put to Death and the greateſt part of the Citizens Murder'd in their Houſes; that afterwards he diſpers'd his Army into the ſeveral Provinces, that they might the ſooner compleat the Deſtruction of the Kingdom; that he was reſolv'd to ſecure his Authority by the Death of all thoſe, whether Noble, or Ignoble, who were either able or willing to undertake the Defence of their Countrey; that he was particularly incens'd againſt the *Dalecarlians*, whoſe Valor and Courage had made him tremble ſo often during the Reign of the late Adminiſtrator; that conſequently they had all the reaſon in the World to expect the moſt inhumane Treatment from a trecherous and cruel Prince, that would never forgive 'em ſo long as he dreaded their Bravery; that under pretext of putting his Army into Winter-Quarters, he was actually ſending his Troops to diſarm 'em; that they would quickly be expos'd to the Fury of enrag'd Soldiers; that their Lives and Liberty would be at the Diſpoſal of their inſolent and mercileſs Enemies; and that the only way to prevent their impending Ruine, was to reſolve upon a vigorous and ſeaſonable Reſiſtance. That the *Dalecarlians* had always look'd

1520. look'd upon *Liberty*, as a dearer and more valuable Bleſſing than *Life*; that the Eyes of the whole Nation were fixt upon 'em in ſo critical a Juncture; that the World expected to ſee a convincing Proof, that they inherited the Bravery of their Heroical Anceſtors, and the noble Reſolution with which thoſe Illuſtrious Patriots had always oppos'd the pretended Authority of Tyrannical Uſurpers; that he was ready to ſacrifice his Life and Fortune in the Defence of their Liberty; that his Friends and all true *Swedes*, would join in ſo glorious an Attempt; that beſides he had receiv'd poſitive Aſſurances of a conſiderable Reinforcement of the ancient Allies of *Sweden*; but ſuppoſing that their Forces were not equal in number to thoſe of the *Danes*, Revenge and Self-preſervation would inſpire them with a generous Fury, which would eaſily ſupply that Defect; and that for his part, he would rather chuſe to die with his Sword in his Hand, than to preſerve his Life by a baſe Submiſſion to a perfidious and cruel Enemy.

The *Dalecarlians* anſwer'd this Diſcourſe with Shouts and Exclamations, threatning to execute their juſt Revenge upon *Chriſtiern*, and the *Daniſh* Nation: One would have thought that this had been the firſt time they heard of the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*; the Diſcourſe and Preſence of *Guſtavus*, had made ſo deep an Impreſſion of Grief and Reſentment upon their Minds. They ſwore to revenge the Death of their Countrey-men, and immediately reſolv'd to diſown *Chriſtiern*'s Authority, and to deſtroy all the *Danes* they ſhould meet without Mercy. Not but that ſome of theſe *Peaſants* were at firſt inclin'd to oppoſe this Revolt, under the Pretext of communicating their Deſigns to the other Villages; either becauſe they

they were gain'd by the *Danes*, or upon a politic Account were afraid of exaſperating a potent and victorious Prince. But the enrag'd Multitude rejected this cowardly Motion with Indignation, ſo that the moſt violent, and thoſe that declar'd for the War, were hearken'd to with a general Applauſe. Thus they unanimouſly took up Arms, and entreated *Guſtavus* to command 'em, being charm'd with his graceful Mien, and admiring the largeneſs of his Stature, and the ſtrong Conſtitution of his Body. 1520.

But nothing confirm'd 'em more in the Reſolution they had taken to follow that Young Lord, with a full aſſurance, than an Obſervation made by the ancient Inhabitants of the Village, that the North-wind continu'd to blow inceſſantly while he made his Speech to 'em. This Accident among thoſe ſuperſtitious People, was look'd upon as an infallible Sign of proſperous Succeſs; and therefore without any further Deliberation, imagining that the Matter could be no longer deferr'd without oppoſing the Orders of Heaven, which had ſo manifeſtly declar'd in favour of *Guſtavus*; they immediately Form'd a Body of Four hundred Men, and out of that number choſe Sixteen of the handſomeſt and beſt ſhap'd Men that were deſcended of the principal Families, whom they preſented to *Guſtavus*, to attend upon his Perſon, as Life-guards, and to ſerve as a Mark or Badge of the Authority, which they had ſo lately conferr'd upon him.

Guſtavus reſolving to take Advantage of their Heat and Eagerneſs, Led them directly againſt the Governor of the Province; for 'twas his Intereſt to prevent that Officer, and to make him incapable of oppoſing the Revolt of the other Villages: In purſuance of that Reſolution, he di-

1520. vided his Troop into ſeveral Bands, the better to conceal his March and Deſign, and under Covert of the Night and the Woods arriv'd at the Foot of the Caſtle, with the *Dalecarlians*, who march'd thither ſecretly by different Roads. The Darkneſs of the Night, and the Surprize of ſo unexpected an Attack, favour'd his Attempt, ſo that the Caſtle was taken by *Scalade*, ſome *Daniſh* Soldiers that compos'd the Governor's Guard, and the moſt part of his Domeſtick Servants, who ſtood in his Defence, were immediately ſacrific'd to the Rage of the *Dalecarlians*; and *Guſtavus* had much ado to reſcue the Governor, who by Impriſonment ſuffer'd for his Imprudence in preſuming to maintain a Poſt in a conquer'd Country, and amidſt ſo fierce a Nation, without a Garriſon ſufficient for the Security of his Perſon and Dignity. *Guſtavus* permitted his Soldiers to Plunder the Governor's Apartment, and ſeveral *Daniſh* Merchants were treated almoſt after the ſame manner, who ſince *Chriſtiern*'s new Government came to Trade in that Province, ſo that their richeſt Stuffs became a Prey to the *Dalecarlian Peaſants*, who dreſs'd themſelves with 'em after their odd Faſhion. They alſo kill'd the Officers that were employ'd in levying the new Taxes, which *Chriſtiern* had impos'd. *Guſtavus* ſeem'd to take no notice of their Proceedings, and perhaps was not offended at theſe Diſorders, which ſerv'd only to make the Breach between the *Dalecarlians* and *Danes* wider, and their mutual Hatred more irreconcileable.

Tho' this Enterprize was not very conſiderable in itſelf, it tended to confirm the *Peaſants* in their good Opinion of *Guſtavus*, and they gave him Commendations ſo much the more willingly, becauſe they took him for a Witneſs of the Courage

Courage and Bravery they ſhew'd on this Occaſion. The Report and Succeſs of this Expedition, within a few Days caus'd almoſt the whole Province to declare in his Favour; for the *Peaſants* came flocking from their Villages to joyn his Forces, ſome by reaſon of their eager and impatient Deſire to be aveng'd on the *Danes*, while others were excited by the Hopes of getting Booty, or by their Natural Inclination to undertake bold and deſperate Enterprizes. 1520.

Many *Swediſh* Gentlemen, and among others, *Olai*, *Lawrence Erici*, *Fredage* and *Jonas* of *Nederby*, who were Out-law'd by *Chriſtiern*, and had fled for Refuge to that Province, repair'd to his Army, as it were to a common Sanctuary. He appointed 'em in the Quality of Officers, to Command theſe Tumultuary Forces, who uſually fought with greater Impetuoſity than Order. Afterward he travers'd with extraordinary Diligence, *Helſingland*, *Medelpadia*, *Angermania*, *Geſtricia* and *Bothnia*, caus'd all theſe ſmall Provinces to Revolt which are for the moſt part deſtitute of conſiderable Towns, and ſecur'd 'em by the good Order he took in fortifying the Paſſages of the Mountains, which are the principal Forts of thoſe Countries.

His Army was daily increas'd in his March by the Concourſe of the *Peaſants*, who came over to him in Crowds, and oftentimes in ſpite of their Reſpective Lords: He aboliſh'd the Taxes which *Chriſtiern* had laid upon the People, and eſtabliſh'd Commiſſaries to receive the ordinary Contributions, which he appropriated for the Subſiſtence of his Forces. Afterwards he diſpatch'd private Emiſſaries thro' the whole Kingdom, to diſpoſe the Nobility and *Peaſants* to appear in Arms as ſoon as he ſhould enter into their Provinces. He

1520. alſo gain'd by ſecret Negotiations the greater part of the *Swediſh* Officers that ſerv'd in *Norbi*'s Fleet or in the Vice-Roy's Army: He left no Means uneſſay'd that might ſerve to augment his Forces and diminiſh thoſe of the Enemy, and did not make Preparations to enter into the Heart of the Kingdom, till he thought himſelf almoſt as ſure of the Fidelity of all the *Swedes* that remain'd in the Army of that Prelate, as of the Zeal of the *Dalecarlians*.

The Vice-Roy made it his principal and almoſt only Care to heap up Mony, which he ſpent in gratifying his Voluptuouſneſs; he aſpir'd only to this Dignity in hopes of finding means to Pillage thoſe People whom his Maſter deſign'd to weaken and ruin, and he would never have undertaken the Adminiſtration of the Government, if he had foreſeen that he ſhould have had to do with other Enemies than diſarm'd People, that were not able to defend themſelves: The Revolt of the *Dalecarlians* was a very ſurprizing and mortifying piece of News to him; the *Daniſh* Forces that were left in the Kingdom were very much weaken'd for want of Diſcipline and by Deſertion; he ſuſpected the Fidelity of the *Swedes*, who had declar'd for him or were employ'd in his Army; nor did he place much Confidence in the Aſſiſtſtance of the Auxiliary and Foreign Troops, who for the moſt part in Civil Wars are always ready to change their Maſters, when they meet with more advantageous Propoſals. The Valor of *Guſtavus* was formidable to him, he dreaded the Courage and Reſentment of that young Lord; but he was yet more afraid of *Chriſtiern*'s Indignation, as being a Prince whoſe Diſpleaſure was extremely terrible, and who uſually puniſh'd the Unfortunate with as much Severity as the Guilty.

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He diſpatch'd a Courier to that Prince to give him an Account of the Revolt of the Northern Provinces, and at the ſame time recall'd thoſe Troops that were diſpers'd in different Parts of the Kingdom. The *Danes* obey'd their Orders, tho' not without a ſecret Reluctancy to leave thoſe Places, where they enrich'd themſelves at the Peoples coſt, and committed all manner of Diſorders with impunity. But the greater part of the Auxiliary Forces refus'd to take the Field under pretext of the want of their Pay. They made themſelves Maſters of the Towns and Caſtles, where they were in Garriſon, and ſhut themſelves up in thoſe Places, not ſo much to defend and keep 'em for the King of *Denmark*, as on purpoſe to retain 'em as Pledges for the payment of their Arrears; and to obtain more advantageous Terms from the Victorious Party. 1520.

It was with no ſmall Trouble and Vexation that *Chriſtiern* heard of the Tranſactions in *Sweden*; he did not find himſelf in a Condition to go into that Kingdom, and cou'd not ſpare the Forces he had in *Denmark*. The whole Realm was full of Diſaffected Perſons; for that Prince who was grown more cruel ſince the Maſſacre at *Stockholm* obſerv'd no Meaſures with his Subjects; he indifferently exerciſed his Authority on the Lives and Eſtates of the *Danes*, without any reſpect to the Dignity of the Perſons, or to the Laws and Privileges of the Country; he had caus'd ſeveral Gentlemen to be put to Death without any Formality, and on very weak Surmiſes, and he had no leſs offended the Biſhops and the whole Body of the Clergy, by the Praiſes he publickly beſtow'd on *Luther*, who under colour of blaming the Abuſes that were committed in *Germany* in the publication of Indulgences, openly Condemn'd

1520. the Wealth, which the Biſhops enjoy'd and the Temporal Power they aſſum'd.

The Court of *Rome* uſually employ'd the *Auguſtine Fryars* to publiſh Indulgences in *Saxony*, by which they reap'd no ſmall Profit, and which procur'd 'em a great Authority in that Country. The *Jacobines* under the Pontificate of *Leo* X. got this Commiſſion from 'em: Theſe *Monks* to ſhew their Zeal in this new Imployment, and perhaps to inhance the Income of their Miſſion, cry'd up in their Sermons the Virtues and Efficacy of Indulgences, in which they us'd certain Expreſſions that were not at all agreeable either to the Deſign of the Church, or to the Intent of the Bull that Authoriz'd 'em: Beſides, theſe Collectors led a Life not over Regular; 'tis ſaid they kept their Offices in Taverns, and often ſpent there in Feaſting what was the product of the Peoples Zeal, and what good Mens Devotion made 'em ſpare even from their Neceſſary Occaſions.

Martin Luther, of the Order of St. *Auſtin*, Doctor and Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Witemberg*, pretended to be mov'd with theſe Diſorders; but in reality, deſirous to revenge his Brethren, began in his Sermons to fly out into ſharp Invectives againſt the bad Uſe theſe Collectors made of their Authority. He was a great Scholar, and an Eloquent Orator, haſty, daring and headſtrong, conceited with his own Learning and Sentiments, and over-fond of that Glory which is acquir'd by broaching new Opinions; undaunted, and ſo obſtinate as never to retract what he had once affirm'd. He contented himſelf at firſt with Preaching againſt the unedifying manner of beſtowing theſe extraordinary Favours; but exaſperated by the Affronts and Threats

Threats of ſome of the *Jacobins* he look'd back as far as the firſt Original of Indulgences. 1520.

He propos'd new Doctrines on the Subject of Juſtification, of Remiſſion of Sins, of Penance and Purgatory, and at laſt ſpoke againſt the Pope's Authority, from whence his Adverſaries deriv'd the Proofs by which they would eſtabliſh Indulgences.

He Taught in his Writings and Preach'd in his Sermons, That we are Juſtify'd by Faith alone, that Penance conſiſted only in a ſincere Contrition, and that Confeſſion was but an unprofitable Repetition of our Faults; that to obtain Remiſſion of Sins, 'twas ſufficient to believe with a lively Faith, that they were forgiven; that Indulgences were neither recommended nor ordain'd to us for our Practices, and that they were equally uſeleſs in this World, and in the next; that Purgatory was but a Modern Invention contriv'd by the *Monks* to cheat People out of their Mony; that the Maſs was no Sacrifice, that it was of no benefit to the Dead, that that, and all other Prayers of the Church were to be Read in the Vulgar Tongue; and above all, that the Holy Sacrament was to be Adminiſtred to the Faithful in both Kinds.

The Pope allarm'd by this new Doctrine, which ſeem'd to expoſe the nature and extent of his Power to the Cenſure and Examination of every particular Perſon, thought to ſtifle ſo dangerous a Doctrine by condemning *Luther* as a Heretick, and even order'd *Jerom Alexander* his *Nuntio* to Solicit the Elector of *Saxony* to deliver up the Seditious *Monk*, that he might puniſh him as an Enemy to Religion.

Luther to ſecure himſelf againſt the Practices of that Court, and to engage the Duke of *Sax-*

1520. *ony* and all Secular Magistrates to protect him, publish'd some new Writings as much in opposition to the Pope's Power as they were favourable to Sovereign Princes; he wrote against the Celibacy of the Priests and the Monachal Vows; he taught, That the only Vows that were obligatory, were those of Baptism; he inveig'd against Hierarchy, which he pretended was a Tyrannical Government; he exclaim'd against the corruption of the Court of *Rome*, against the excessive Riches of the Church; he advis'd in his Books and Sermons all the Sovereign Princes to take possession of the Funds and Revenues of the Bishopricks, Abbies and Monasteries, unless when there was a Sovereignty annex'd to the Bishopricks, and in that Case, he would have the Bishop marry, and not suffer such Persons, as under the specious pretence of Celibacy, engag'd their Allegiance to a Foreign Power to remain in his Territories; he would have the Monasteries converted into publick Schools and Hospitals, and the great Treasures those Houses enjoy'd to be employ'd partly in maintaining the Preachers, Overseers, and other Officers who should take Care of the Poor, and partly by the Prince in supplying the Exigences of the State and the Necessities of his People.

These last Opinions gain'd *Luther* more Followers, than the first Propositions he had advanc'd on the obscure and crabbed Doctrine of Justification, and the Merit of Good-works. Many *German* Princes under Colour of this Doctrine, depriv'd the Church of several Lands and Estates which they thought lay convenient for 'em: And the King of *Denmark* after their Example usurp'd part of the Demeans of the Archbishop of *Lunden*, as if he had already declar'd openly for the new Religion,

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The *Daniſh* Clergy, to be revenged for the Affront they met with under his Reign, and perhaps to diſpoſe People to a Rebellion, gave out a Prophecy of S. *Bridget*, to this effect, that a K. of *Denmark* ſhould be expell'd out of his Kingdom, becauſe of his Barbarity. Every one took Pleaſure in applying this to *Chriſtiern*; but he having heard of it, publickly made a Jeſt of it; telling his Courtiers, That that Bigot, wrote every Morning the Dreams ſhe had had over Night, which ſhe very piouſly took for Revelations, and affecting to make that Saint the ſubject of his Mirth, either out of a Spirit of Libertiniſm, or, which is more probable, to diſcredit by a ſeeming Contempt and Deriſion, a Prediction which whether true or falſe, might make a dangerous Impreſſion in Peoples Minds. 1520.

However, ſince by reaſon of the general Diſcontent of all his Subjects, he could neither leave *Copenhagen*, nor diſmiſs his Army, without expoſing himſelf to a Rebellion; he wrote to the Vice-Roy of *Sweden*, commanding him to march with his Army, in order to bring the Rebels to reaſonable Terms, and at the ſame time he ſent word to *Guſtavus*, That he would make his Mother and his Siſters to ſuffer the moſt cruel Torments, if he underſtood that he appear'd again at the Head of the Rebels.

Guſtavus, deſpiſing his Threats, continu'd ſtill to advance with his *Dalecarlians*, putting all the *Danes* he met with to the Sword, and even the *Swedes* who adher'd to them or to the Archbiſhop; and his Forces increas'd daily, during his March, ſo that in a ſhort Time, he ſaw himſelf at the Head of an Army of above Fifteen thouſand Men, all animated with his Courage and Reſentment, and reſolv'd either to conquer or die. He march'd towards *Weſtmania*, while the Vice-

1520. Vice-Roy, on the other side, at the Head of his Army, advanc'd to the River *Brunebec*, with a Design to oppose his Passage, and fight him, if he should attempt to pass the River.

No sooner was he come to the Banks of the River, but he saw *Gustavus* appear on the other side, at the Head of his Horse, and ready to force his Passage. He was so daunted at the Sight of so Resolute an Enemy, that he retir'd with much Precipitation, and basely left a Post, where he might have Fought with Advantage, either because he was diffident of his own Capacity, in giving the necessary Orders, and Commanding during the Heat and Tumult of the Action, or because he durst not trust the *Swedes*, who were very numerous in his Army. He retir'd at first into the Castle of *Westeras*, which was not far off, but not thinking himself safe while he was so near *Gustavus*, and fearing a Siege if he should continue, he left the best part of his Troops to Defend that Place, and, returning to *Stockholm*, shut himself up in the Castle of that City, where he began to indulge his Luxury, without suffering any Business to be brought before him, as tho' by his Retreat, and keeping out all bad News, he could keep out the Enemy, or put a Stop to their Progress.

Gustavus took all the Advantage which the Vice-Roy's retreat afforded him; he laid a Bridge over the River, his Forces pass'd it without any Opposition, and continu'd their March towards *Westeras*, the Capital City of *Westmania*. It was equally dangerous for him to leave behind him a Place of that Importance, or to spend too much time in besieging it: Most of his Troops were compos'd of Countrymen, that were very unfit for this way of Fighting; he had neither Powder

Powder nor Cannon; the Place was defended by a numerous Garriſon, little differing from an Army, and the Length and Difficulty of a Siege might have diſcourag'd the *Dalecarlians*, and ruin'd his Deſigns. 1520.

To rid himſelf of his Trouble, he reſolv'd to attempt that by a bold Action and a Stratagem, which he foreſaw was impracticable according to the ordinary Rules of the Art of War: He detach'd all his Cavalry under the Command of *Lawrence Erici*, his Lieutenant, with Orders to advance behind the Woods, as near as he could to the City Gates; he left *Olai* another of his Lieutenants, with the beſt part of his Foot, behind a Mountain, near the Village *Ballunga*, and having commanded him to follow him ſlowly, he advanc'd with a Body of Three thouſand Men, as if his whole Army had conſiſted only in that Number.

That Evening he appear'd in ſight of the Place, and immediately retrench'd himſelf near the Chappel of S. *Olaus*, with all the Care and Diligence of a Man that is afraid of being attacked, and endeavours to avoid an Engagement; which the *Danes* perceiving, and withal ſeeing the ſmall Number of his Men, ſend all their Horſe to attack him. *Guſtavus*, after a ſmall Reſiſtance, maintain'd a running Fight, to get into the Defiles, and inſenſibly to draw the Enemy among the Body of his Foot, which was advancing to his Aſſiſtance: The *Danes*, deceiv'd by this Retreat, which they miſtook for the Flight of a routed Enemy, ran diſorderly out of *Weſteras*, to have a Share in the Victory, thinking to find 'em in Confuſion and Diſorder, ſo that none remained in the City but the *Sweediſh* Forces of their Party and the *Danes* that were in Garriſon in the

1520. the Caſtle, whom the Governour would not ſuffer to go out.

Guſtavus having drawn 'em far enough from the City, to give *Erici* an Opportunity to execute his Orders, made head againſt the Enemy: He took his Poſt at the Head of all his Foot, which was now got together, and turning about to his *Dalecarlians*, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and a dreadful Look, which ſeem'd to threaten no leſs than a full Vengeance for his Father's Death; *Remember, my Friends,* cry'd he, *the Cruelty and Avarice of our Tyrants, and conſider that we muſt either conquer, or prevent an Ignominious Slavery by an honourable Death.*

The *Dalecarlians* having anſwer'd their General's Diſcourſe with repeated Shouts and Acclamations, immediately let fly a ſhower of Arrows upon the *Danes*, and afterwards broke, with Sword in Hand into the midſt of their Battalions. The Ground was quickly cover'd with dead Bodies; and both Parties enrag'd with all the Fury and Obſtinacy that uſually appear between two neighbouring and hoſtile Nations, when one of 'em fights to enlarge their Dominions, and the other to recover their Liberty. *Guſtavus* ſeem'd to be every where; and at the ſame time that he charg'd the Enemies, as the meaneſt private Centinel in his Army, gave out Orders with that Admirable preſence of Mind, which is ſo rare, and yet ſo neceſſary on ſuch Occaſions. The Fight was obſtinately maintain'd for ſome time by the undaunted Valour of both Parties; but ſince People that revolt and take up Arms for the recovery of their Liberty, ſeem always to be inſpir'd with a more than ordinary Fury, the *Swedes* made ſuch powerful Efforts, that the *Danes* were forc'd to give Ground, and to endeavour to regain the Walls of *Weſteras*. How-

However, they retreated in good Order, and when they were charg'd by the Horſe under the Command of *Erici*, who had intercepted their Paſſage, the Fight was renew'd, and by reaſon of the nnavoidable neceſſity of overcoming or Dying, was more furious than before. The *Danes* being attack'd on all ſides, and animated with Rage and Deſpair, fought like Perſons who took leſs care to defend themſelves, than to aſſault their Purſuers, every Man endeavouring to revenge his Death by that of an Enemy, The greateſt part of 'em were cut to pieces, few were taken Priſoners, and the pitileſs and bloody *Dalecarlians* put all to the Sword, without giving Quarter; nor were their Officers able to moderate their impetuous Fury. 1520.

The Horſe, under the Command of *Erici*, purſued the routed Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they enter'd with 'em into *Weſteras*, by means of the *Swedes* that belong'd to the Garriſon and were in the *Daniſh* Service, but declar'd for *Guſtavus* as ſoon as they could with ſafety. Theſe Troops had no ſooner enter'd the City, but they disbanded in the Night, and run to plunder the Town with ſo much eagerneſs, that their Officers were not able to ſtop 'em, nor even to find a ſufficient number of Soldiers to mount the Guard, and to take ſuch Precautions as were neceſſary to ſecure their Conqueſt. They broke into the Houſes of ſeveral Merchants that ſold Brandy, Wine and ſtrong Waters. And the *Dalecarlians*, under the Command of *Guſtavus*, being inform'd that their Companions were ſo well employ'd, left their Colours, and in ſpite of their Officers run to the Town, to get their ſhare of a Liquor, which affords an enchanting Delight to theſe Northern People.

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1520. The Governor of the Caſtle perceiving this Diſorder, made a Sally at the Head of his Garriſon, to charge the *Swedes*, his Soldiers having firſt ſet Fire to ſeveral Houſes on purpoſe to encreaſe the Tumult and Confuſion: Afterward they enter'd the City with Sword in Hand, and without any oppoſition kill'd a great number of the *Dalecarlians*, whom they found for the moſt part Drunk and Deſtitute of Arms and Defence. As ſoon as *Guſtavus* was inform'd of ſo terrible and unexpected a Diſaſter, he enter'd the Town and was enrag'd to ſee his Soldiers maſſacred almoſt in his Preſence, without finding any that were able to oppoſe the Enemies: He commanded *Olai* to raiſe a Barricadoe in the high Street, and to make Head againſt the *Danes* with all the Officers and Volunteers that were with him, whilſt he himſelf ran through the City, to put a ſtop to the Pillage, and to rally his diſperſt Trops. The greater part of his Soldiers ſculking in the bottom of the Cellars, and intoxicated with Wine and Brandy, fled almoſt with equal fear and precipitation from the preſence of their General and from their Enemies. But *Guſtavus*, accompanied with his Guards, went down himſelf into the Cellars, ſtav'd the Veſſels, ſpilt the ſtrong Waters and Brandy, and by this Precaution, which the *Dalecarlians* lookt upon as unjuſt and cruel, drew them out of theſe enchanted Places; at laſt he beat back the *Danes* into the Caſtle, tho' rather by his own Preſence than by the Aſſiſtance of his Soldiers.

Afterwards he caus'd the Governor's Pulſe to be felt, to know whether he might be prevail'd with to deliver up the Caſtle upon Compoſition; but having found him reſolute and unmoveable, he contented himſelf with blocking up the Fort; he

he was not willing to hazard an Attack, which perhaps might diſcourage his Soldiers; nor to begin a formal Siege, for fear of giving time to the *Danes* to rally. He only order'd Lines of Contravallation to be drawn round the Place, to hinder the beſieged from Sallying out, and to cut off all hope of Relief: He firſt took a Spade to break the Ground, and was immediately imitated by all the Officers of his Army; after which, the Burghers of the Town, mingled with his Soldiers, carry'd on the Work with ſo much Diligence and Vigor, that in leſs than two Days they rais'd the Entrenchments in ſome places above 24 foot high, 1520.

Guſtavus had no ſooner given the neceſſary Orders to prevent the conveying of Succors into the Place, but he march'd again into the Field; ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, at the Head of their Vaſſals, met him on the Road, and join'd his Forces; and 70 *Swediſh* Officers at once deſerted the Vice-roy, and came over to *Guſtavus's* Army: Theſe Advantages were lookt upon as the beginning of a great Revolution, and the taking of *Weſteras* ſeem'd to be the Signal agreed upon for the Revolt of the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*. *Arwide*, a conſiderable Lord in *Weſtgothland*, *Laurentius Petri* of *Sudermania*, and *Olaus Bonde* of *Nericia*, came to aſſure him that the Nobility and People of their Provinces, waited only for his preſence to take up Arms, and to declare in his Favour; and even thoſe who were either with-held or over-aw'd by the Power and Neighbourhood of the *Danes*, ſecretly aſſiſted him with Intelligence and Money: the Eyes of all the People were fixt upon him, and his own Merit, with the rigor of the *Daniſh* Tyranny, procur'd him the good Wiſhes and Love of the whole *Swediſh* Nation.

Guſtavus

1520. *Guſtavus* ſeeing himſelf at the Head of an Army, and of ſo potent a Party, reſolv'd to undertake ſeveral Enterprizes at the ſame time, that the Fame of his Conqueſts might draw all the People to his Army, and that the *Danes* might be at a Loſs where to employ their Troops. He ſent back theſe Lords who came to meet him to their reſpective Provinces, with Detachments from his Army, which he gave them to begin the War, and to promote the Revolt and Inſurrection of the People. *Arwide*, by his Order, beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Wadeſtene* in *Oſtrogothland*, *Laurentius Petri* the Town of *Nicopinc*, and *Olaus Bond*, *Orebro*, the Capital of *Nericia*, whilſt *Olai* and *Erici* at the ſame time inveſted the City of *Upſal*. This Place was large and very populous, but almoſt deſtitute of Walls and other Fortifications, except ſome old Towers on the ſide of the Archbiſhoprick. The Archbiſhop who was Lord of it, had put a Gariſon in it, under the Command of a Governor, tho' rather with a deſign to ſhew the Inhabitants that he did not forſake them, than in hopes of defending it, if it ſhould be attackt: The Soldiers of the Garriſon had no ſooner perceiv'd the *Dalecarlians* with Sword in Hand deſcending into the Ditch and ready to mount to the Aſſault; but they abandon'd the Ramparts after once Firing, and left a free Paſſage to the *Dalecarlians*, who enter'd the Town without oppoſition; and being reform'd by what happen'd to them at the taking of *Weſteras*, they purſu'd the *Danes*, without ſtaying to Plunder the Houſes: The greater part of the Garriſon was cut to pieces, and the Governor endeavouring to eſcape by Flight, receiv'd a Shot with an Arrow, of which he dy'd a few Days after.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus having receiv'd information that his Forces were in *Upſal*, repair'd thither with ſpeed. He took care to preſerve the Archbiſhop's Palace and Goods, either to render him ſuſpected to the *Daniſh* Miniſters, or to gain and draw him to his Party. Afterwards he ſent an Envoy to the Conſul of *Lubeck*, to notify to him the happy Succeſs of his Arms, and at the ſame time to put him in mind of the Supplies which he had promis'd him in behalf of the Regency. His Agent repreſented to that Magiſtrate, how much 'twas the Intereſt of that Republick, and of all the other *Hanſe*-Towns, that *Sweden* ſhould be always ſeparated from, and at enmity with *Denmark*; that the Regency of *Lubeck* could never meet with a more favourable Opportunity to ſettle the Affairs of that Kingdom; that *Guſtavus* had already made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral large Provinces, and that he had compleated all theſe Conqueſts at the Head of the *Dalecarlians*; but that theſe Peaſants for the moſt part ſerving without Pay, were alſo free from any Tie or Engagement, and that they were not ignorant that thoſe who begin a Revolt, and undertake a War with the greateſt eagerneſs, are uſually ſooneſt tir'd; that his Maſter ſtood in need of a Fleet to beſiege *Stockholm*, and the other Maritim Towns of the Kingdom, as alſo ſome Regular Troops to carry on the War; and that this Lord hop'd with the Supplies, within a little while to expel the *Danes* out of the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*. 1520. *May* 11.

The Conſul of *Lubeck* gave an Account of his Demands to the Regency; but theſe Republicans found that their Intereſt was chang'd with the Fortune of *Guſtavus*. The rapid progreſs of

1520. his Conqueſts, his undaunted Courage and aſpiring Genius began to diſturb 'em, and *Chriſtiern* on the contrary ceas'd to be any longer formidable to 'em by reaſon of his violent Proceedings with reſpect to his own Subjects.

But tho' *Guſtavus*'s Agent made little progreſs in his Negotiation, he had the good fortune to meet with an old *German* Colonel, nam'd *Stephen de Saſſi*, who was one of thoſe Soldiers of Fortune that made a Trade of War, and are always ready to venture their Lives for Gain, without taking any care to enquire into the Juſtice of the Cauſe which they engage to defend. *Guſtavus*'s Envoy treated with him in the Name of his Maſter, and in conſideration of a certain Sum agreed upon, a conſiderable part of which was paid in Hand, the Colonel oblig'd himſelf to Land in *Sweden* before the end of the Month of *Auguſt*, at the Head of 1200 Men. *Guſtavus*'s Agent inſtantly gave him an Account of this Treaty, and receiv'd Orders to continue at *Lubeck* to ſolicit that Regency to declare in his favour; but he thought fit to acquaint him at the ſame time, that he was ſenſible there would not have been ſo much difficulty in prevailing with theſe Republicans, if he had not made ſo quick a progreſs, and if the ſucceſs of his Enterprize were more uncertain.

Guſtavus had not hitherto met with any Diſaſter, every Thing having ſucceeded beyond his Expectation: He was at the Head of a conſiderable Army, with which he had made himſelf Maſter of half the Kingdom, and the reſt of *Sweden* waited only for his Preſence to Declare in his Favour, when in the full Career of his Conqueſt, he ſaw himſelf ſuddenly abandon'd by the greater part of his Forces;

ces; for the Peaſants begg'd leave of him to be diſmiſs'd, that they might go and take Care of the Harveſt in their Provinces. *Guſtavus*, notwithſtanding the urgent neceſſity of his Affairs, could not refuſe thoſe People who ſerv'd him voluntarily, and to whom he was alſo oblig'd for all his Authority; and therefore he conſented to their Departure, upon the Promiſe they made him to return with a Re-inforcement after the Harveſt, reſerving only for his Guard, and for the Defence of the City of *Upſal*, one Company of Horſe and Six hundred Foot, for the moſt part *Dalecarlians*, who were reſolv'd to follow his Fortune, and never to leave him. 1520.

He reſided at *Upſal*, which was as it were the Center of his Conqueſts, from whence he gave out neceſſary Orders thro' all the Provinces that had declar'd for him, and where his Lieutenants carry'd on the War in his Name: He endeavour'd at the ſame time to divide and diſtract his Enemies by ſecret Negotiations, till he ſhould be in a Condition to reduce 'em by Force.

The Archbiſhop was more eſpecially formidable to him, by reaſon of the great number of his Vaſſals and Followers; for he alone was capable of ſupporting *Chriſtiern*'s Party by the Reputation of his Family, and his Authority over the Clergy. He ſent Letters thro' the Provinces, obliging his Relations and Friends to endeavour to retain the People in their Obedience to the King of *Denmark*; ſo that *Guſtavus* met with, in the ſingle Perſon of that Prelate, a vigilant Enemy, that created him more Trouble than all the *Danes* together. However, he made an Attempt to draw him off from

1521. their Party, and engag'd two Canons of *Upſal*, who imagin'd they had a great Intereſt with the Archbiſhop. *Guſtavus* publickly granted 'em a Paſs, under colour that they deſir'd Leave to retire to their Metropolitan, and at the ſame time charg'd 'em with a Letter, which was ſubmiſſive, full of Reſpect, and proper to flatter the haughty and arrogant Temper of that Prelate. In this Letter he conjur'd him no longer to oppoſe the Liberty of his Country; and offer'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Sincerity to reſtore his City of *Upſal*, and his whole Eſtate, without exacting any other Conditions than to engage in his Party, and to be their Head; aſſuring him withal, That every one would be ready to obey his Orders with Delight, and that for his own part, he ſhould only reſerve to himſelf the Glory of putting his Advice and Counſels in execution.

The two Canons being arriv'd at *Stockholm*, deliver'd *Guſtavus*'s Letter to the Archbiſhop, and even took the boldneſs to commend his Moderation, on purpoſe to feel the Pulſe of that Prelate. But the Archbiſhop rejected the Letter and their Service, with a great deal of Scorn and Indignation; and fearing leaſt the *Danes* ſhould ſuſpect that he hearken'd to their Propoſals, he caus'd the Letter to be immediately carry'd to the Vice-Roy: He alſo ſent to him, at the ſame time, the Perſons of the two Canons, who were the Bearers of it, and demanded that they ſhould be put to Death as Traytors and Spies.

The Vice-Roy, who knew not how to deſtroy his Enemies but when he found 'em unarm'd, would have made no great difficulty to give him this Satisfaction if he had not been afraid of offending

offending the Clergy, who almoſt alone continu'd to adhere to the Party of the *Danes*: He alſo perceiv'd that the Archbiſhop requir'd their Death with ſo much earneſtneſs, only to take off a Suſpicion, which might ariſe, that he held Correſpondence with *Guſtavus*: Beſides that, theſe Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, terrify'd with the Danger they had incurr'd, proteſted to him, They took the charge of *Guſtavus*'s Letter, only to obtain a Paſs, and the Liberty of departing out of a City, which was no longer engag'd in their Party. Afterward they inveigh'd againſt the Rebellion of that Lord, with an Eloquence that was the effect of their Fear. They promis'd an inviolable Fidelity to King *Chriſtiern*, whom they acknowledg'd as their Lawful Sovereign; and the more effectually to juſtify themſelves, and appeaſe the Anger of the Vice-Roy and Archbiſhop, they told 'em, that the *Peaſants* had abandon'd *Guſtavus*, and gave 'em an account of the ſtate of the City, and the Forces of that Lord, which they likewiſe diminiſh'd, according to the uſual Language of Deſerters, on purpoſe to make their Court, and to obtain a more favourable Treatment. 1520.

The Archbiſhop demanded Troops of the Vice-Roy, with which he promis'd to ſurprize *Guſtavus* in *Upſal*, and bring him back Priſoner, or at leaſt to force him to flee once more to the Mountains of *Dalecarlia*. In compliance with his Deſire, the Vice-Roy gave him Three thouſand Foot and Five hundred Horſe, which was the greateſt part of the Garriſon of *Stockholm*: The Archbiſhop march'd at the Head of theſe Forces, with ſo much Diligence and Secrecy, that he was very near ſeizing on the Perſon of *Guſtavus* in *Upſal*; for he receiv'd Advice of his Deſigns

1520. only Two Hours before his Arrival, by the means of Two *Swediſh* Gentlemen, who ſeem'd ſtill of the Archbiſhop's Party, but had been gain'd by *Guſtavus*; they departed privately, and came with all poſſible ſpeed to give him notice of the Danger that threaten'd him. The City was large and open on all ſides, and the Inhabitants were alſo well-affected to the Archbiſhop, who was their Lord, and therefore *Guſtavus* did not think fit, with ſo ſmall a number of Troops, that remain'd under his Command to undertake the Defence of the Place; but inſtantly caus'd the Infantry to file off toward the Foreſt of *Noſtan*, and put himſelf in the Rear with his Troop of Horſe. and his Guards, to ſecure their March.

He had ſcarce got out of the City, when the Archbiſhop enter'd it, at the Head of all his Forces; and as ſoon as he was inform'd of *Guſtavus*'s Departure, he purſu'd him with all his Horſe. The *Danes* overtook him at the Ford of *Lateby*, where his Infantry, already terrify'd with a precipitated Retreat, ran away at the ſight of the Enemy; and even the Cavalry, tho' retain'd by his Preſence, were diſmay'd while the whole Multitude, preſs'd forward to gain the Foreſt. His Squire being mounted on an unruly Horſe, and hurry'd away in this Diſorder, unhappily fell upon his Maſter, and threw him backward into the Water, out of which he was immediately reſcued by his Guards. But *Guſtavus* was ſo far from being daunted with the Hazard he had run, or diſcourag'd by the Number of his Enemies, that he rode boldly at the Head of his Guards; and that brave Lord, who was equally remarkable for the graceful height of his Stature and undaunted

Courage

Courage, ſuſtain'd almoſt alone the whole Shock of the *Daniſh* Army, while his Troops were gaining the Foreſt: As ſoon as he ſaw them in Safety, he retir'd in ſpite of the Multitude of thoſe that charg'd him, having loſt in the Encounter only Ten or Twelve Horſe, ſo that this was all the Advantage that the Archbiſhop gain'd for an Opportunity by which Fortune and the Diſorder of *Guſtavus*'s Troops ſeem'd to aſſure him an entire Victory. 1520.

The Danger to which he had been expos'd by the means of this Prelate, ſerv'd only to revive his Courage and Reſentment, ſo that he form'd a Deſign to Surprize him by way of Retaliation; to which purpoſe he recall'd part of the Troops, which he had given to *Arwide*, and ſent them Orders to lie hid in the Woods on the Road from *Stockholm* to *Upſal*. At the ſame time he receiv'd the *German* Troops, commanded by Col. *de Saſſi*; and moſt part of his Friends alarm'd at the Danger he had incur'd on this Occaſion, repair'd to him with great Diligence; the Hatred they bore to *Chriſtiern*, and the fear of falling again under his Power rendering *Guſtavus*'s Perſon extremely dear to all the *Swedes*, inſomuch that in a few Days he found himſelf Maſter of a new Army, capable of keeping the Field: He encamp'd near the Caſtle of *Rimning*, and made an Entrenchment there, as if he had only the ſame Troops with which he march'd out of *Upſal*. He alſo took all the neceſſary Precautions to conceal the knowledge of his Forces from the Archbiſhop, and to promote the Confidence and Preſumption with which he was poſſeſs'd, by reaſon of the ſmall Advantage he had gain'd.

This

1520. This Prelate being puff'd up with the Pride of having put *Guſtavus* to flight, ſet forward to return to *Stockholm*, as that prudent Lord had foreſeen, and march'd with the ſame State as if he led his Enemy Priſoner with him: But his Troops fell into the Ambuſh; for *Arwide*'s Infantry that lay hid in the Wood, ſuddenly appear'd, and fell on 'em with terrible Shouts. The Archbiſhop, who fear'd no Enemies where *Guſtavus* was not preſent, being ſurpriz'd with an unexpected Attack, determin'd to re-enter into *Upſal*; but he met with that Lord on the Road, who had thrown himſelf, during his March, between the City and his Forces: Whereupon the *Danes* were ſtruck with Terror, and ſaw themſelves beſet both in Front and Rear; ſome of 'em endeavour'd to advance toward *Stockholm*, and others return'd towards *Upſal*: Every one in this Diſorder imagin'd the Oppoſition and Danger to be leſs where he was not, yet met with the Enemy and Death whitherſoever they went. Thus the greater part of the *Danes* were cut to pieces, and the reſt provided for their Safety by Flight. The Archbiſhop, who had boaſted that he would take *Guſtavus* Priſoner, could ſcarce bring back the ſixth part of the Forces with which he was entruſted by the Vice-Roy. In the mean while *Guſtavus* re-enter'd into *Upſal* at the Head of his Victorious Army; and perceiving that no Agreement could be any longer made with the Archbiſhop, caus'd a Tower to be demoliſh'd, which ſerv'd both as an Ornament and a Fort in the Archbiſhop's Quarter, to hinder the *Danes* from lodging in it for the future.

The Doctrin of *Luther* began to be introduc'd about this time into *Sweden*, and in *Guſtavus*'s Army.

Army. The *German* Soldiers firſt brought it thither, but their Religion conſiſted only in their Licentiouſneſs and the Contempt with which they treated the Monks, and all ſorts of Religious Orders. Afterwards the two Brothers *Laurentius* and *Olaus Petri*, of the Province of *Nericia* propagated this Doctrin with very great Succeſs. They had both ſtudy'd under *Luther* in the Univerſity of *Wirtemberg*; they brought both his Doctrin and Writings into *Sweden*, and publiſh'd them with all the Zeal that is uſually ſhewn in the divulging of new Opinions, eſpecially when 'tis believ'd to be neceſſary that old Errors ſhould be confuted, and the Truth eſtabliſh'd. 1520.

Laurentius Petri, who was naturally timorous, diſcover'd his Sentiments with much Reſervedneſs and Precaution; he contented himſelf only with diſperſing *Luther*'s Books in private, and diſcourſing with his particular Friends about them; but *Olaus*, who was bold and eloquent, publickly Preach'd *Lutheraniſm* in the Church of *Stregnez*, whereof he was Canon and Protonotary: He inveigh'd in his Sermons againſt the ill uſe the Clergy and Monks made of their Power and Riches, and was chearfully heard by the People, who were not ignorant that the Ambition of the Biſhops had caus'd all the Calamities of *Sweden*.

Afterwards he held Conferences, poſted up *Theſes* in *Upſal*, Diſputed every Day in the Univerſity of that City, and finally left no Means unattempted to ſpread abroad his Maſter's Doctrin, during the Diſorders and Commotions of the Civil War; a Time always favourable for the Change or Eſtabliſhment of new Religions. Theſe Opinions were readily embrac'd by the Youth, and he gain'd the moſt part of the Profeſſors

1520. Profeſſors and Scholars of the Univerſity, who eſteem'd it their honour to become the Miniſters and Publiſhers of that Doctrine, and every one was deſirous to be inſtructed in it. Thus *Lutheraniſm* paſs'd inſenſibly from the School into the Houſes of private Perſons, and the Families were divided; every one taking part according to his Inclination; while ſome maintain'd the *Roman* Catholick Religion, becauſe it was that of their Fathers, and ſome adher'd to it purely upon the ſcore of it's Antiquity; others complain'd of the Abuſes which the Covetouſneſs of the Clergy had introduc'd into the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and attack'd thoſe Abuſes with ſo much the more Heat, as they found it their Intereſt to diſcredit 'em. The very Women engag'd in theſe Diſputes, ſome out of Vanity and others thro' an exceſſive Fear of not being in the true way to Salvation; and every one ſet up for a Judge of Controverſies. The remaining part of the Biſhops of *Sweden*, after the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*, being more mindful of *Guſtavus*'s Conqueſts than of their Epiſcopal Functions in their reſpective Dioceſes, took no notice of the Progreſs of *Lutheraniſm*. *Guſtavus*, for his part was deſirous to conceal his Knowledge of theſe Opinions, whether he look'd upon them as the Effect of ſome Diſputes among idle Divines; or perhaps he was not diſpleas'd, that in a Kingdom, in which the Biſhops had ſo far oppos'd his Deſigns, there ſhould ariſe, even from amidſt the Clergy, a Party that made Profeſſion of condemning the Temporal Power, and great Revenues of thoſe Prelates.

Guſtavus after the Flight of the Archbiſhop reunited all his Forces, which were divided into different ſmall Bodies, and march'd directly to *Stock-*

holm. He did not deſign as yet to undertake the Siege, as not having a Fleet to block up the Harbour; but he only caus'd his Army to draw near, hoping that the Conſternation of the *Danes,* upon the Defeat of the Archbiſhop might give occaſion to the Friends whom he had in the Place to attempt ſomewhat in his behalf. The Vice-Roy and Arch-biſhop having little aſſurance of the Fidelity of the Burghers; and being afraid to fall into the Hands of *Guſtavus,* reſolv'd to make their Eſcape whilſt the Sea continu'd open. They conferr'd the Government of the Place upon an ancient Officer, who commanded the Gariſon, and retir'd with Precipitation into *Denmark,* giving out that they only went to haſten the Succours which were expected daily from *Chriſtiern.* And 'tis certain that he us'd his utmoſt endeavours to ſend an Army into *Sweden,* but the *Danes* terrify'd with the Maſſacre of *Stockholm,* deteſted both his Enterprize and Government, and refus'd to grant him any Kind of Supplies, under pretence that they were already exhauſted by the long continuance of the War. 1520.

Guſtavus was over-joy'd to hear that the two Prelates were departed for *Denmark*; ſince the Vice-Roy ſeem'd to leave him the Kingdom by his Flight, and the Retreat of the Archbiſhop freed him from an Enemy that was always formidable by reaſon of his Authority over the Clergy; but the Governour puts things into ſo good Order in *Stockholm,* that the Inhabitants were not able to undertake any Attempt in *Guſtavus*'s Favour: At the ſame time that Lord received a Courtier from *Arwide,* who brought him word that he had made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtles of *Wadeſtene, Hora* and *Scening* in *Oſtrogothland*;

1520. *Oſtrogothland*; that at the very firſt Approach of his Forces, the Towns of *Lincoping*, *Norcoping*, and *Sudercoping* had taken up Arms, and expell'd the *Danes*; and that he was Marching to beſiege the Caſtle of *Stegeburg*, in which Colonel *Bernard de Milen* a *German* by Nation kept Garriſon with his Regiment.

The great Joy occaſion'd by ſuch proſperous Succeſſes was allay'd with the ſad News, which *Guſtavus* receiv'd of the deplorable Death of his Mother and Siſter. For King *Chriſtiern* exaſperated at the Progreſs of his Victories, of which he was certainly aſſur'd by the flight of the Vice-Roy and Archbiſhop, caus'd theſe Ladies to be wrapp'd up in a Sack, and caſt into the Sea, and gave Orders at the ſame time to the *Daniſh* Officers, who commanded in thoſe Places, which ſtill remain'd under his Dominion in *Sweden*, to deſtroy all the *Swedes* that were ſtill among his Troops, as ſo many Traitors hir'd by his Enemy; which orders were put in Execution with a great deal of Inhumanity, eſpecially by the Governour of *Aboo*, the Capital City of *Finland*, who put to death many *Finlandiſh* Gentlemen of his Government.

Guſtavus being extreamly afflicted at the Loſs of his Mother, and Siſter; publiſh'd a Proclamation in his Army, as alſo in all the Places where his Authority was acknowledg'd, that all the *Danes* that could be taken ſhould be put to death without Mercy; hoping that theſe violent Proceedings would render *Chriſtiern*, more odious to his own Subjects. He left the greater part of his Forces before *Stockholm*, to form a Blockado under the Command of Colonel *De Saſſi* and *Fradage*, and afterwards march'd into *Oſtrogothland*; which was almoſt wholly gain'd by the prudent Conduct,

Conduct, and the Valour of *Arwide*, and had lately declar'd againſt the *Danes*. *Guſtavus* put Garriſons into all the Towns that had adher'd and own'd his Authority, caus'd the old Fortifications to be carefully Repair'd, order'd new ones to be made in all places where they were neceſſary, and left 'em under the Command of Governours that were zealous Defenders of their Country, and for the moſt part had been out-law'd by *Chriſtiern*. All the Noble Men of the Province appear'd before him to offer their Service, and to congratulate him upon the happy Succeſs of his Arms. The Biſhop of *Lincoping* alone was diſturb'd and wavering, notwithſtanding ſo ſpeedy and private a Revolution, and ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle of *Munquebode*, not daring as yet to declare for *Guſtavus*. 1520.

This was the ſame Prelate who had fortunately eſcap'd the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*; ſo that the risk that he run on this occaſion, made him look upon all the Parties that oppos'd *Chriſtiern*'s Intereſt as ſo many dangerous Precipices; neither could all *Guſtavus*'s Conqueſts revive his Spirits, as being perſuaded that he could never be able to maintain a War againſt ſo potent a Monarch as the King of *Denmark*, and expecting every moment to ſee this Prince re-enter *Sweden* at the head of a formidable Army, to treat *Guſtavus* and his Followers, as he had done *Erie Vaſa* his Father and the reſt of the Senators. He exhorted the People both by Word and Writing, not to be concern'd in the Commotions of the State, tho' the only Reaſon why he made ſo great a noiſe, was that he might have a ſufficient Number of Witneſſes, to depoſe, that he had conſtantly perſever'd in ſupporting the intereſt of *Denmark*.

Guſtavus

1520. *Gustavus* incens'd at the Weakness and Cowardice of that Prelate, who in the middle of a Province, whereof he was Master, durst not declare against the *Danes*, march'd toward his Castle at the Head of part of his Troops, with a design to oblige him to explain himself, and to drive him out of his Hold, if after the ill Treatment he had receiv'd from *Christiern*, he still persisted in taking his part. The Bishop being inform'd of the Displeasure and March of *Gustavus*, went out to meet him with his principal Clergy, and to appease his Anger omitted neither commendations nor protestations of his Fidelity. It was indeed the interest of *Gustavus* to make himself Master of the Bishop's Castle, which was fortified, but he durst not put a Garrison into it, lest even those of his own party should blame him for violating the privileges of the Clergy in the Person of a Bishop, that could not be accus'd of appearing in Arms, and who had voluntarily open'd the Gates of his Castle. *Gustavus* contented himself with giving him a severe reprimand, and the Bishop thought himself very happy to purchase his Liberty at the rate of some Oaths of Fidelity, which he was fully resolv'd to keep no longer than he should be over-aw'd by the Presence and Arms of *Gustavus*.

That victorious Lord having establish'd so good order throughout all his Conquests solemnly call'd a Meeting or Convention of the Estates of the Kingdom at *Wadestene*, to give some Form to the Government, and more especially to cause his own Authority to be confirm'd and acknowledg'd, which as yet he held only by the Right of his Sword, and the Election of certain *Peasants* of *Dalecarlia*. Few of the Deputies of the Provinces were present in this Assembly; for the murther of

of the principal Nobility, the difference of parties, the diſorders of the War, the marching of Troops, and even the fear of ſome new Revolutions in Favour of King *Chriſtiern* hinder'd the greateſt part of the Deputies from appearing. The Convention, was ſcarce compos'd of any other Perſons than military Officers and many Gentlemen, who were out-law'd by *Chriſtiern* and reſorted to *Guſtavus*'s Army as it were to a Sanctuary or Place of Refuge; ſo that the whole Body of the State was in a manner comprehended in the Army. *Guſtavus* repreſented to them with a graceful mien and a charming Eloquence, the neceſſity of proceeding to the Election of an Adminiſtrator, who might be capable of giving the laſt fatal blow to the *Daniſh* Tyranny; and that the Forces of that Nation now in the Kingdom, were rather Priſoners then Maſters in the places they poſſeſs'd, afterwards he told them with a great deal of generoſity, that he did not intend that his Services ſhould conſtrain their choice, aſſuring them, that he would be the firſt that ſhould acknowledge that Perſon among them whom they ſhould think fit to Elect, and that in whatſoever Rank they plac'd him, he ſhould always eſteem himſelf happy in Fighting and expoſing his Life for the Defence of his Country. 1520.

The Eſtates anſwer'd his Harangue with the Applauſe and Applauding Acclamations that were due to his Valor and Moderation: All the Gentlemen and Officers in the Convention were inſeparably united to his Perſon and Fortune; they ſubſiſted only by his Benefits, and there was no Safety for them in *Sweden*, except in his Army: The whole Aſſembly earneſtly intreated him to take upon himſelf the Charge of the Govern-

1520. Government and they were deſirous even to confer upon him the quality of *King*, to engage him more effectually to defend his Country; but he poſitively refus'd that Title, and contented himſelf after the Example of his Predeceſſors with the Quality of *Adminiſtrator*, as being more Modeſt and more Agreeable to the State of his Fortune and the preſent poſture of the Kingdom. Then all the Members of the Eſtates took an Oath of Allegiance to him, and he was acknowledg'd and proclaim'd with a loud Voice in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, and in the Army, as the *General Governour* and *Sovereign Adminiſtrator* of *Sweden*.

The End of the Firſt Part.

THE HISTORY OF THE Revolutions in *Sweden.*

PART II.

GUSTAVUS having diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, began to give a full career to his vaſt Deſigns, and to follow the Motions of that noble Ardor which prompted him to extend his Conqueſts, and atchieve ſome new Exploits that might anſwer the Hope and Expectation of the *Swedes*. The Succeſs of his Arms, the Glory of his Victories, the Numbers and Valor of his Troops, and the Zeal and Affection of the People, inſpir'd him with Thoughts ſuitable to his Courage and Ambition, and flatter'd him with the alluring Proſpect of mounting the Throne of *Sweden*, as ſoon as he ſhould compleat the great Work in which he was engag'd, by the entire Expulſion of the *Danes* out of the Kingdom. 1521.

He was not ignorant of the extreme Difficulty of the Task he had undertaken; the *Danes* were

1521. ſtill Maſters of the *Capital City*, and of ſeveral *Provinces*, and he wanted Mony to carry on the War. But for his comfort he perceiv'd that his Adverſary labour'd under the ſame Inconveniency; and his *Wants* were in a manner ſupply'd by the *Poverty* of his Enemies. This Encouragement was ſufficient to keep him from deſpairing of Succeſs, but was not willing to build his Hope on ſo uncertain a Foundation. He either ſold or mortgag'd all his Patrimonial Lands, to make new Levies; wiſely conſidering that he only parted with an Eſtate, of which an unfortunate Battle might quickly deprive him, and that a Victory would make up all his Loſſes.

He ſent ſome of the Forces which he had newly levy'd to *Arwide*, with Orders to carry on the Siege of *Stegeburgh* with vigor. Colonel *de Saſſi* and *Fredage* beſieg'd *Stockholm*, which they had block'd up for ſome time. The *Adminiſtrator* ſent another Body of his Men to *Finland* under the Command of *Arwide*'s Brother, and kept a *flying Camp* with himſelf for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and the execution of his private Deſigns. He ran thro' all the Provinces with an incredible Diligence; and it may be ſaid, in ſome ſenſe, that he was preſent in all his Armies at once. He projected every Enterprize, and both contriv'd and executed all the Attempts that were made. He paſs'd frequently thro' the Enemy's Country, and even under the Cannon of their Garriſons, without being aſſaulted; the ſecrecy of his Deſigns, and the quickneſs of his Marches, ſecuring him from their Attacks. He went to *Smaland* in Perſon, and made himſelf Maſter of that Province, almoſt in leſs time than would ſeem neceſſary to travel thro' it.

December 18. From thence he march'd to *Stegebergh*, which was ſtill beſieg'd by *Arwide*, and defended with great

great Courage and Reſolution by the Governor. 1521.
The whole Fortune of that Officer conſiſted in the Government of this Place; and he endeavour'd to preſerve it as his Eſtate and Patrimony, rather than out of zeal and fidelity to his Maſter's Intereſt. *Guſtavus* ſoon diſcover'd his weak ſide, and concluding that he might be more eaſily *Brib'd* than *Forc'd*, made ſome advantageous Propoſals to him, which quickly produc'd the deſir'd Effect. The Governor was not able to reſiſt the Preſence and Bounty of that young Conqueror; he not only ſurrender'd the Place, but enter'd into his late Enemy's Service, and the whole Garriſon follow'd his Example. So powerfully was he charm'd with that Prince's Valor and Generoſity, and allur'd with the Penſions and Preferment which he beſtow'd upon him.

After the Reduction of *Stegeburgh*, *Guſtavus* made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtles and Forts of *Nicopine* and *Tynelſo*: from whence he march'd to *Weſtmania*, and took the Caſtle of *Veſteras*, which by a long Blockade was reduc'd to ſcarcity of Proviſions, and could not expect Relief. However he granted honourable Terms to the Governor, beſides an advantageous Compoſition in private: For 'twas one of his Maxims, *That a Conqueror can never pay too dear a price for the time he ſaves*; and tho' he was full of Courage and undaunted Bravery, 'twas his uſual cuſtom to *court* his Enemies before he *attack'd* 'em, and only to *force* thoſe who would not be *gain'd*. He had the Art of preparing his Deſigns for execution by private Negotiations, and was admirably well acquainted with all the myſterious Secrets of the moſt refin'd Politicks.

As ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Weſteras*, he march'd towards *Stockholm* at the Head of his Army, reſolving to Command in Perſon at the Siege, and to compleat the Conqueſt of the Kingdom by the Reduction of the Capital City.

1521. but about two days Journey from the Town, he met with the unwelcome News of the Defeat of his two Officers that lay before it. and of the raising of the Siege. *Christiern* had made a desperate Effort to prevent the Loss of *Sweden*; he had set out a potent Fleet, Mann'd with a considerable number of Land Forces, and Admiral *Norbi*, who express'd a great deal of Zeal and Forwardness on this Occasion, was intrusted with the Conduct of the Expedition.

That Lord could not forgive *Gustavus* for getting the start of him, and baulking the secret Designs he had form'd against *Sweden*; and *Christiern* imagin'd that his extream Aversion and Spite against that Prince, which he did not endeavour to dissemble, proceeded merely from his Loyalty and Zeal for the Interest of his Sovereign. He had us'd a great deal of Diligence, and even spent a great deal of Mony in fitting out the Fleet: His Friends accompany'd him in the Expedition, the Troops that he commanded were absolutely devoted to him, and he still entertain'd some flattering Hopes that if he could beat *Gustavus*, 'twould not be impossible to obtain the Dignity of *Administrator*, and afterwards to mount the Throne, by improving the violent Hatred with which the *Swedes* were possess'd against the Tyranny of his Master.

1522. April. *Gustavus* had no Fleet at Sea to dispute the passage of the *Danes*; their Admiral enter'd without any opposition into the Port of *Stockholm*, and as soon as the Troops were landed, made a Sally with all his Forces to surprize the Besiegers. There was a lucky Combination of several Circumstances that seem'd to favour the execution of his Designs; for besides the Weakness of his Enemies at Sea, there was a fatal mis-understanding betwixt the two Officers that commanded the Siege. The *German* Collonel, who was an old and Weather-beaten Soldier, claimed the Supream Command, as an Honour due to his Skill

Skill and Experience: But the *Swediſh* Officer was too proud and confident of his own Courage, and too jealous of the Honour of his Nation, to ſubmit to a Man whom he did not think braver than himſelf. After this unhappy Difference they lodg'd their Troops in ſeparate Quarters, without the leaſt Communication between one another: They acted on all Occaſions like declar'd Enemies, and were more ſuſpicious of each other than of the *Daniſh* Garriſon, whom they deſpis'd both for their Weakneſs and the ſmallneſs of their Numbers. 1522.

Norbi taking the Advantage of ſo favourable an Opportunity, made a Sally upon *Fredage*'s Quarters; and the *Swedes* were ſo ill prepar'd to receive him, that they abandon'd their Lines, and endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by a ſhameful Flight. The *German* Colonel was ſo far from aſſiſting 'em, that he remain'd an unconcern'd Spectator of the Action, and e'en rejoyc'd at their Misfortune: But he was ſoon made ſenſible of his Imprudence, for his Camp was attack'd ſo vigorouſly by the *Daniſh* Admiral, that his Soldiers were not able to endure ſo furious a Shock, and fled after a ſlight Reſiſtance. Thus *Norbi* had the good fortune to ſucceed in his firſt Attempt; and that he might not loſe the Fruit of ſo important a Victory, he order'd the Soldiers of the Garriſon to fill up the Lines, and demoliſh all the Enemy's Works, while the reſt of the Troops were in purſuit of the routed Beſiegers.

Yet the ſhame and confuſion of this Defeat, was greater than the Loſs they ſuſtain'd; for the greateſt part of the *Swediſh* Troops rally'd again under their reſpective Officers. The two Commanders endeavour'd reciprocally to caſt the blame of this Diſaſter upon one another. Their common Misfortune exaſperated the Fury of their Averſion, and widen'd the breach that was between 'em: But *Guſtavus* was too deeply concern'd in the fatal Conſequence of

1522. that unhappy Division, to suffer it to make a further Progress. He march'd with all possible haste to the Army, and by his Presence depriv'd 'em both of that Power and Superiority, which was the main Cause of their Hatred and Jealousy. Immediately after he gave Orders to his Troops to repair to their former Posts, and renew'd the Siege, notwithstanding the great sharpness of the Winter, that the News of his Arrival might prevent, or at least lessen the Noise of the Defeat of his Army.

Norbi was not much alarm'd at this second Attempt, which was rather a *Blockade* than a *Siege*. He left a great Garrison in the Town, and being Master of the Sea set Sail for *Finland*, where he put to flight *Arwide*'s Brother, whom *Gustavus* had sent to reduce that Province.

The *Administrator* perceiving that he could not hope to succeed in his Designs, nor to make himself Master of *Stockholm*, without a *Fleet* to block up the Port, dispatch'd his Secretary *Siguard de Holton* to hasten the Succors which that *Republic* had promis'd to him, and to obtain a sufficient number of Men and Ships to carry on the War. This Envoy was more favourably receiv'd than his Predecessor; for the Magistrates of that City had heard of the Action at *Stockholm*, and believ'd the Accounts that were industriously spread abroad by the *Danes*, who gave out that the *Administrator's* Army was totally defeated. And therefore since 'twas their Interest to prevent the utter Ruin of that Prince, as well as to curb the progress of his Victories, they were soon persuaded to grant the Succors which he demanded, thinking by that means to perpetuate the War between the *Northern* Crowns. They oblig'd themselves to send forthwith Eighteen Men of War, with Four thousand Soldiers, furnish'd with one Year's Pay: But at the same time they resolv'd to make the *Administrator* pay dear for the *Assistance* they gave him.

They

They propos'd, that he ſhould enter into an Obligation in the Name and behalf of the States of *Sweden*, to pay to their City for the charge of the Fleet, the Sum of *Sixty thouſand Marks* of Silver; That till the Kingdom ſhould be in a Condition to advance ſo conſiderable a Sum, the Merchants of *Lubeck* Trading to *Sweden*, ſhould be exempted from all Cuſtoms and Duties, for the Goods which they ſhould either Export or Import; that no other Nation ſhould be permitted to Trade in the Kingdom; That the *Adminiſtrator* ſhould not conclude a Peace or Truce with *Denmark*, without the conſent of the *Regency*; and, that in caſe they ſhould be attack'd by *Chriſtiern*, he ſhould be oblig'd to invade *Denmark* with *Twenty thouſand Men*, to make a Diverſion. 1522.

The greateſt part of theſe Conditions ſeem'd very hard to *Guſtavus*: For he perceiv'd that the execution of this Treaty would Ruin the Trade of the Kingdom, and quite deſtroy the Revenue of the Crown, which at that time conſiſted almoſt wholly in the Cuſtoms that were laid upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods. But on the other hand, there was an abſolute Neceſſity for a Fleet to carry on the Siege of *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and other Maritime Places. He had no Mony either to build or buy Ships, and was ſenſible that as long as *Chriſtiern* ſhould remain Maſter of the Sea, and conſequently of theſe Ports, he might eaſily prolong the War, by pouring freſh Forces into the Kingdom. Thus the *Adminiſtrator* was conſtrain'd to conclude a Treaty, which would have been ſhameful and diſhonourable if it had not been neceſſary: *Siguard de Holten* ſign'd it by his Order, and the Fleet ſet Sail ſome time after. *Frederick Brum* was *Admiral* of the *Navy*, and the *Land Forces* were commanded by *John Stammel*.

The *Fleet* arriv'd ſafely in the Port of *Sudercopinc* on *Whitſun*-Eve, and the Troops that were to ſerve

1522. a Shoar were landed. As ſoon as the *Adminiſtrato* receiv'd the News of their Arrival, he ſent *Bernard de Milen*, who was their Country-man, to adminiſter the Oath of Fidelity to 'em: But they refus'd obſtinately to obey or acknowledge that Officer, tho' he was a Native of *Germany*. They begg'd earneſtly that they might ſee *Guſtavus*; and the greateſt part of 'em proteſted that they would never have left their Country, if they had not expected to ſerve under a Prince whoſe Valor was celebrated thro' all *Germany*.

To ſatisfy theſe Foreign Auxiliaries, the *Adminiſtrator* was oblig'd to take a Journey to *Sudercopinc*. He charm'd 'em with the gracefulneſs of his Mien, and gain'd their Hearts with the winning Eloquence of his Diſcourſe. They took the uſual Oath of Fidelity for the time which their Superiors had engag'd 'em in his Service, with all imaginable Expreſſions of Joy and Chearfulneſs; and reſolv'd to follow his Fortune with as ardent a Zeal, as if they had been born his Subjects.

He made uſe of theſe Troops to re-inforce the Army that lay before *Stockholm*, ordering 'em to encamp on the ſide next the Sea, over againſt the Port, which was the weakeſt part of the Camp. At the ſame time he form'd a Squadron of as many Ships as he could find, and gave the Command of it to *Eric Fleming*, a *Finlandiſh* Lord, with Orders to Cruiſe before the Harbor, that all Hope of Relief might be cut off from the Beſieg'd.

Fleming lying in the height of *Stockholm*, diſcover'd a Squadron of *Daniſh* Ships making their way directly towards the Harbor. This was a conſiderable Convoy, Commanded by the Governor of *Aboo*, whom *Norbi* had ſent to Re-victual *Stockholm*; for it ſeems he had not yet receiv'd Advice that the *Regency* of *Lubeck* had declar'd for the *Swedes*, and that their Fleet kept the Sea. Immediately *Fleming* gave Orders to all his Ships to ſtand in behind the

Cape

Cape of *Stockholm*; and in the mean time the Convoy, with the Ships under his Command, advanc'd with a favourable Gale, having order'd two light Frigats to ſail before the Fleet, at an equal diſtance, to make Diſcoveries. 1522.

As ſoon as the firſt of theſe Frigats had doubl'd the Cape, ſhe was ſurrounded and taken by *Fleming*, who took out all the Ship's Company, and mann'd her with *Swediſh* Seamen and Soldiers. Then, without loſing time, he went on Board his Prize, and put out to Sea to meet the other Frigat, which was making the beſt of her way, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of what had happen'd. As ſoon as the Commodore of the Convoy, who was on Board that Veſſel, perceiv'd the firſt Frigat making towards him, he came in his Boat to learn the cauſe of her return; but inſtead of receiving the Advice he expected, he found himſelf in the Hands of his Enemies. Immediately *Fleming* gave the Signal for the whole Fleet to come up; and made himſelf Maſter of the Convoy and all the Ships in his Company, before the Captains, who were at a Loſs for want of their Admiral, could agree upon the Order of Battle. There was only one *Finlandiſh* Ship that made Reſiſtance; the Captain defended himſelf with extraordinary Valor from Noon till Night; and at laſt choſe rather to burn his Ship, than to fall under the power of his Enemies. The Commodore of the Convoy was hang'd by *Guſtavus*'s Order, by way of Repriſal, or Retaliation, for the Cruelties he had committed in his Government.

This was a very mortifying piece of News to Admiral *Norbi*, who, reckoning himſelf Maſter of theſe Seas, could not endure to be affronted in his own Element, by ſuch bungling Seamen as the *Swedes* were generally reputed to be. He order'd his Fleet to be fitted out with all poſſible haſte; and as ſoon as it was ready to put to Sea, he ſet ſail with a Con-

1522. Convoy of Provisions and Soldiers for *Stockholm* which was still closely block'd up by *Gustavus*. As soon as he drew near the *Lubeck*-Fleet and *Fleming*'s Squadron, which were Riding at Anchor in the Road of that City, the Guns on both sides began to play very furiously, and the two Fleets continu'd a whole Day firing at one another without Intermission. *Norbi* intended to renew the Fight next Morning; but perceiving some appearances of an approaching Storm, he was forc'd to stand in to a little Island, where there was safe Anchorage, tho it was very near the Shoar.

Having cast Anchor in that place, he was surpriz'd in the Night with so violent a Frost, that all his Ships were engag'd in the Ice. *Gustavus* hearing of this Accident, resolv'd not to neglect so fair an opportunity of obtaining a compleat and easy Victory, by setting Fire to his Enemies Navy. In pursuance of that design, he march'd immediately with the Forces of *Lubeck*, who were encamp'd on that side, and none he thought fitter for such an Attempt than the *Dalecarlians* and other *Peasants*, of which his Army was compos'd. He pass'd over into the Island upon the Ice, and gave Orders to the Soldiers to advance as near the Enemy as they could, during the obscurity of the Night. They quickly found that *Norbi* was not asleep; for upon their Approach, they were saluted with repeated Discharges of great and small Shot. However, they receiv'd the Enemies Fire without shrinking, and march'd on boldly to the sides of the Ships: Some shot Arrows, others darted burning Torches, and some transported with the eagerness of their Courage, endeavour'd to climb up the sides of the Ships; but they were quickly repuls'd and thrown down upon the Ice by the *Danes*, who fought with advantage upon the Decks of their Ships. The Action was extreamly hot on both sides: The *Danes* were attack'd with extra-

extraordinary Vigor and Obſtinacy, and defended themſelves with no leſs Courage and Bravery; but notwithſtanding all their Care and Reſiſtance, ſeveral Ships were ſet on Fire, and both the *Conquer'd* and *Conquerors* were forc'd, with equal haſte and precipitation, to avoid the fury of the mercileſs Flames. The gloomy Horror of the Night, the Shrieks of half-burnt Wretches, the falling of Maſts and cracking of the Ships, with the confus'd Medly of ſo many diſmal Objects, ſtruck the moſt undaunted Minds with a ſecret and reſiſtleſs Terror. The *Danes* were at once aſſaulted by the raging Fire and their Victorious Enemies: They had already loſt ſeveral Ships, and could not have ſav'd one of the reſt, if thoſe who commanded under *Guſtavus* would have compleated the Victory. 1522.

The *Lubeck* General order'd a Retreat to be ſounded in the heat of the Action, and in ſpight of *Guſtavus*'s Threats and Intreaties, drew off his Troops, under pretext that they were too much expos'd to the Enemies Fire. 'Tis not certainly known whether he was ſecretly gain'd by *Norbi*, as the *Adminiſtrator* ſuſpected; or whether he had received private Orders from his Superiors to prolong the War, by ballancing the Advantages on both ſides. The Seaſon was not yet ſo far advanc'd, but that the Heat of the Sun in the Morning was ſtrong enough to thaw the Ice, which was quickly diſpers'd by a brisk Southerly Gale, which happen'd to ariſe at the ſame time. *Norbi* ſet ſail immediately, and retir'd to the Port of *Calmar*, with the reſt of his Fleet which was extreamly ſhatter'd. *John Stammel.* November.

Guſtavus was enrag'd at the *Lubeck* General's Treachery, who, by an ill-tim'd retreat, had robb'd him of a certain Victory, and retarded the Conqueſt of *Stockholm*, upon which the Succeſs of all his Deſigns depended. He was convinc'd, by this Action, that he could not ſafely rely upon ſuch Allies, who had

1522. had only aſſiſted him out of a politick Deſign to put a ſtop to the growing power of *Denmark*; and concluded that they would not only withdraw their Aſſiſtance, but turn their Arms againſt him, if he ſhould, by extending his Conqueſts, make himſelf the Object of their Fear. However, the neceſſity of having a Fleet to block up the Port of *Stockholm*, made him diſſemble his Anger; and having ſent thoſe Foreign Troops into good Winter Quarters, he continu'd the Blockade with an Army of his own Subjects, who were accuſtom'd to endure Cold, and to encamp in the Snow. In the mean time he took care to keep ſo ſtrict a Guard upon all the Avenues of the Town, that 'twas impoſſible for the Enemy to ſupply it either with Men or Proviſions.

Norbi hearing of the Extremity to which the Place was reduc'd, reſolv'd to hazard another Battle, as ſoon as the Sea ſhould be open. He beſtow'd a great deal of care and charge upon the Careening and Fitting out of his Fleet, and Mann'd it with a conſiderable Number of Soldiers, whom he drew out of the Garriſons of the Iſle of *Gothland*, and of the City of *Calmar*, of which he was Governour. He was ſtill entertaining himſelf with the pleaſing hope of forcing *Guſtavus* once more to raiſe the Siege of the Capital City of *Sweden*, when he receiv'd advice that all *Denmark* was in Arms againſt *Chriſtiern*.

That violent Prince contemning the Laws and Privileges of his Country, imagin'd that he might, without controul, diſpoſe of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects as he pleas'd, and make his own fantaſtical humour the Standard and Meaſure of his Government. The Biſhops and Nobility were the principal Objects of his Fury; for the conſciouſneſs of his own Guilt made him conclude that they could not continue Loyal to their Tyrannical Oppreſſor.

preſſer. He had put to Death ſeveral Lords and two Biſhops without any form of Juſtice; and both the Clergy and Nobility were equally incens'd againſt him. Thoſe Barbarities and the Maſſacre of *Stockholm* procur'd him the hatred of all his Subjects; but their *Hatred* was accompanied with ſo much *Fear*, that notwithſtanding all his Cruelties, he might have ſtill continu'd on the Throne if he had not over-loaded the *Danes* with inſupportable Taxes and Impoſitions to carry on the War againſt *Sweden*, which was ſtill his predominant Paſſion. 1522.

At laſt the People grew weary of Slavery and Oppreſſion, aud cou'd not longer bear the unſufferable Yoak of ſo Tyrannical a Government: They loſt their *Fear* and *Patience*, at the ſame time that they loſt their *Eſtates*, and chearfully imbrac'd the Quarrel of the Clergy and Nobility: All things being ripe for an univerſal Inſurrection, and the Conſpiracy being carried on by the United Counſels and Intereſts of all the Eſtates and Orders of the Kingdom; they enter'd into a ſecret Treaty with *Frederick* of *Oldenburg*, Duke of *Holſtein*, and *Chriſtiern*'s Uncle. That Prince liv'd quietly in the Lands of his Apennage, and had never diſcover'd any Ambition: but he was ſo dazzl'd with the tempting Proſpect of a Crown, that he heard with Pleaſure the Propoſals of the Male-contents, and conſented to the Dethroning of his Nephew, concluding that the Tyrannical Proceedings of that unhappy Prince, would juſtify his Appearing in Arms againſt him, and ſave him from the Character of an Uſurper. He levy'd Troops in his own Lands to ſupport the Male-contents: And the revolt began in the Province of *Jutland*, which borders upon *Holſtein*. The Eſtates of that Country, aſſembl'd at *Arhuſen*, depos'd *Chriſtiern* publickly, and even had the confidence to ſend him the Act or Inſtrument

1522. ſtrument of his Depoſition by *Munce*, the chief Juſtice of that Province.

Chriſtiern was extreamly daunted with this Meſſage, which a Wiſer and more Reſolute Prince would have anſwer'd at the head of his Army. He was ſtill Maſter of the Kingdom of *Norway*, which King *Chriſtiern* I. His Grandfather had entail'd upon his Family. *Copenhagen*, and the Iſlands of the *Baltick* Sea, had not yet declar'd in favour of his Uncle; and he was ſure of the Fleet under the Command of an Admiral, who was inſeparably united to his Intereſt. Yet he neither endeavour'd to oppoſe the Mutineers, nor to diſpute the Crown with the Duke of *Holſtein*. He concluded that the Conſpiracy was univerſal, tho' it had only broken out in one Province. He was diffident and afraid of all Men, and even ſuſpected his Domeſtic Servants, and the Officers of his Houſhold, fearing that they might be tempted to betray him to the Prince, his Uncle. He degraded himſelf, and forgetting his Birth and Dignity, ſhamefully *begg'd the Advice and aſſiſtance of thoſe whom he had treated moſt unworthily*. His Diſgrace expos'd him in his true and naked Colours to the eyes of his Subjects, and ſhew'd him to be as *Baſe* and *Cowardly* under *Adverſity*, as he had been *Haughty* and *Inſolent* in *Proſperity*. He choſe rather to *live a private Perſon* than to *die a King*, and ſav'd himſelf by an *ignominious flight out of his Dominions*, with the Queen
1523. his Wife, and the Princes, his Children. He was
April 13. alſo accompany'd by *Sigebrite*, who notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of her Counſels, retain'd her wonted Empire and Authority over the Mind of this miſerable Prince. He plac'd his only confidence in the aſſiſtance of his Brother-in-Law the Emperor, imagining that he would Arm all *Germany* to reſtore him to the Throne he had forſaken; as if he could not have more eaſily *kept the Poſſeſſion* of his

his Crown *with his own Army*, than *regain it* with *all the Forces of the Empire.* 1522.

As ſoon as *Norbi* receiv'd the News of his Maſters Flight and *ABDICATION*, he took his leave of *Sweden*, and gave over his deſign of relieving *Stockholm*. He left a weak Garriſon in *Calmar*, and retir'd with his whole Fleet to the Iſle of *Gothland*, under pretext of ſecuring it for *Chriſtiern*, tho' his true Deſign was to keep it for himſelf, and under the Name of that Prince to make himſelf the abſolute Maſter and Sovereign of the Iſland, while the Kingdoms of the North were diſtracted with ſuch terrible Confuſions.

Guſtavus reſolv'd to make the beſt advantage of his Enemy's retreat. He had ſome ſecret intelligence in *Calmar*, who prevail'd with the *Burghers* to receive his Troops in the Night; and the whole Garriſon was put to the Sword. At the ſame time *Arwide* ſeiz'd on the Iſle of *Doeland*, and *Bernard de Milen* Conquer'd all *Bleking*. And theſe ſucceſſes were quickly follow'd with the Reduction of the whole Kingdom, except *Stockholm*, and ſome places in *Finland*.

The Garriſon of *Stockholm*, weaken'd by the length of the Siege, ſtraiten'd both by Land and Sea, and kept in Awe by the *Burghers* of the City, who did not longer conceal their Affection to the *Adminiſtrator*, began to think of Capitulating. They knew not for whoſe ſake they ſuffer'd all the Incommodities of ſo cloſe a Siege; and were reduc'd to ſuch Extremities, by want of Pay and of neceſſary Proviſions, that they offer'd to ſurrender, inſiſting only on the Payment of the Arrears due to 'em ſince they enter'd into the Place.

But *Guſtavus* did not think fit to obſerve his uſual Maxim on this occaſion; for tho' twas ſo much his intereſt to be Maſter of that City, he rejected the advantageous Propoſals that were made to him by

1522. by the Garrison. He knew that their Numbers were extreamly lessen'd, and that they wanted both Victuals and Powder. But this seeming Severity was only a pretext to prolong the Siege for some days, which in the present juncture was a necessary piece of policy for the Advancement of his Fortune, and the carrying on of his secret Designs. He saw that *Sweden* was absolutely deliver'd from the *Danish* Yoke; that *Christiern* was hated and slighted by all the World, and that he wander'd about like a miserable Exile, begging the Assistance of his former Allies to restore him to the Crown of *Denmark*. *Gustavus* had never a nearer Prospect of mounting the Throne; but at the same time he stood in need of his most refin'd Politicks to manage so nice a Game: He consider'd that the reduction of *Stockholm*, instead of fixing him on the Throne, might set him at a further distance from it: He knew that *Ingratitude* is the usual Companion of *Security*, and was afraid that the *Swedes* being freed from the apprehension of a common Enemy, would not unanimously concur to his Election, and the Establishment of his Authority. And therefore he concluded that the best resolution he could take in so critical a Juncture was to lengthen the Siege of their Capital City, that the uncertainty of so important an event might keep 'em in awe, and in a dependance upon his Assistance.

May 25. In pursuance of this Design he call'd a Meeting or *Convention of the Estates* at *Stregnez*, whither the Deputies of all the Provinces resorted, attended with a vast concourse of the Nobility and common People, who flock'd thither from all parts to see *Gustavus*, whom they look'd upon as the *Hero* and *Guardian Angel* of his Country. As soon as the Assembly was open'd they proceeded to the Election of Senators, to supply the vacant Places of those who lost their Lives in the *Massacre of Stockholm*.

Sockholm. The *Adminiſtrator* had ſo great an influence upon the Deputies, and manag'd the Voices with ſo ſucceſsful a Dexterity, that the Choice fell upon ſuch Perſons as were intirely devoted to his Intereſt, and were either his *Relations* or *Creatures.* 1523.

Bernard Milen, Peter Erland, Ivard and *Eric Fleming, Axel Andrew, Canus Andrew, Peter John, Bero Claud, Tordo Bonde.*

The * *Speaker* of the *Eſtates* repreſented to the Aſſembly the abſolute neceſſity of proceeding ſpeedily to the Election of a *King.* Then he imploy'd all his Art in Painting forth the Qualities of an Excellent Prince, one that was Vigilant, Laborious, full of Courage, and indu'd with a ſufficient Stock of Valour and Prudence, to oppoſe the unjuſt Pretenſions of the *Danes* to the *Swediſh* Crown; that in this Deſcription they might ſee, and take notice of the Picture of *Guſtavus.* He concluded, that after all the Services which the *Adminiſtrator* had done to the State, and the Illuſtrious Proofs he had given of his extraordinary Endowments and Virtues, they were oblig'd in Gratitude to him, and in Juſtice to the Intereſts of thoſe whom they repreſented, to confer the Royal Title and Authority upon their Benefactor.

* *Canus* Provoſt of the Cathedral of *Weſteras.*

This Diſcourſe was receiv'd with an univerſal Applauſe. The Nobility and Commons tranſported with their Zeal and Affection, prevented the Senators and Deputies. The whole Aſſembly with a loud Voice Proclaim'd *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*: 'Twas impoſſible to gather the Votes, or to proceed according to the uſual Forms that are obſerv'd in ſuch Caſes. His Praiſes were eccho'd thro' the whole Convention; he was ſtyl'd *the Saviour and Deliverer of his Country*: The *Peaſants* and *Burghers* mingling confuſedly with the Deputies, neglecting all Marks of Diſtinction, and even forgetting the Reſpect they ow'd to the Senators and other Lords, ſtruggl'd and crowded to approach the King. The Name of *Guſtavus* was repeated

1523. by every Mouth, he was the Object of every Eye; and all in general endeavour'd to expreſs their Joy at his Election, and to congratulate their own Happineſs, in having an Opportunity to contribute to his Advancement.

The Prince was charm'd with ſo many extraordinary Demonſtrations of his Peoples Affection: He own'd that it exceeded all his Services, and that their Kindneſs was more agreeable to him than the Noble Effect of their Gratitude. He had ſo much *real* or *ſeeming* Modeſty as to decline the offer they made him: But the firſt Words he utter'd to that effect, dampt the Joy of the whole Aſſembly. There was nothing to be ſeen or heard among 'em but Tears and Supplications; and ſo deep a Sorrow ſate upon every Face, that one would have thought the *Danes* had ſtill been at the Gates of the City. At laſt he was prevail'd with to ſubmit to the pleaſing violence, and conſented to an Advancement, which was both a *Reward* and an *Effect* of his Valor and Prudence. He was ſolemnly acknowledg'd as King and Sovereign of *Sweden*, and the two *Gothlands*; and receiv'd an Oath of Fidelity from the Senate and Deputies of the Provinces.

The *Eſtates* would have immediately proceeded to his *Coronation*, but he cunningly avoided that Ceremony, under pretext that he was oblig'd to return inſtantly to the Siege of *Stockholm*. The true Reaſon why he refus'd to be Crown'd ſo ſoon, was, that he was not yet ſufficiently Eſtabliſh'd upon the Throne, to refuſe the Oaths which the Clergy exacted upon ſuch Occaſions for the preſervation of their Rights and Privileges.

He invited the Senate and the greateſt part of the Deputies to accompany him to the Army, that they might be preſent at the Surrendring of their Capital City. He knew the Place could not hold out longer; for the Garriſon was ſo pinch'd with Famine,

Famine, and ſo afraid of the Burghers, who began openly to threaten 'em, that they deſir'd ſeveral times to Capitulate; but the Generals had Orders to prolong the Treaty during the Meeting of the Eſtates at *Stregnez*. As ſoon as the News of his Election and of his return to the Camp was divulg'd in the City, new Deputies was ſent to him, and the Governor yielded up the Place, ſubmitting all the Articles of the Capitulation to his Pleaſure and Diſcretion. 1523.

He requir'd the Governor to deliver up to his Officers all the Mony, Papers, Furniture, and other Effects that belong'd to King *Chriſtiern*, the Vice-Roy, Archbiſhop *Trolle*, and Admiral *Norbi*. He permitted the Garriſon to march out with their Arms and Baggage, upon Condition that for the ſpace of Six Months they ſhould not bear Arms againſt the Crown of *Sweden* or its Allies. He oblig'd himſelf to provide Veſſels to Tranſport 'em to *Wiſmar* or *Lubeck*; and promis'd with a great deal of chearfulneſs to preſerve inviolably all the Privileges of the City.

As ſoon as the King's Forces had taken poſſeſſion of the Town, he made his Public Entry, accompany'd with all the Senators, and follow'd by a vaſt number of Lords, Gentlemen and Military Officers, all magnificently Cloath'd. The Prince himſelf augmented the Splendor of the Cavalcade by his graceful Mien, and his Noble and Majeſtick Air, which was very advantageouſly ſet off by the Luſtre of his Youth. He was receiv'd at the Gate by the Conſuls and Magiſtrates, who preſented the Keys of the City on their Knees: And the People mingling with the Soldiers, without either Fear or Order, made the Air reſound with a thouſand joyful Acclamations. The King went ſtreight to the Church, and gave Thanks to God for the Succeſs of his Arms; after which, he gave a ſplendid Entertainment to

1523. all the Senators and the principal Officers of his Army.

Thus *Gustavus* became Master of the Capital City of his Kingdom, and began the publick Exercise of the Regal Authority: He sent Orders to notify his Election to all the Provinces, that the People might acknowledge him as Sovereign; and commanded all the Governors of Places, and the principal Officers of his Troops to repair with all Diligence to their respective Posts. He gave Audience at all Hours, receiving Persons of *Quality* with Civility and Marks of Honour, and Persons of *Merit* with Demonstrations of Kindness and Esteem. The People began to breath after so many terrible Disasters: Trade was restor'd, and the *Swedes* had the Pleasure to contemplate the unwonted Prospect of a lasting Peace. The whole Kingdom was freed from the Tyrannical Dominion of its Old Enemies, and subject to a Prince that was able to protect and defend it. He introduc'd a Politeness of Manners and Magnificence of Habit into the Court, that were not known, or at least not so remarkable, in the preceeding Reigns. For there was a certain rough wildness in the Temper of most of that Nation, which stood very much in need of Polishing and Refining. And perhaps he us'd these Arts on purpose to allure the Nobility from their Country-Seats and Castles, and to oblige 'em to depend upon the Court for Places, or Pensions to defray the Charge of that expensive way of Living.

He had not forgotten the danger to which he was expos'd by *Peterson* the *Dalecarlian*; but a good Office he receiv'd from the Wife atton'd for the Treachery of the Husband. He remember'd also and design'd to reward the Kindness and Hospitality of the Curate of *Suverdsio*, who receiv'd him into his House and entertain'd him in his lowest Condition: and hearing that his Benefactor was dead, he order'd a Crown

Crown of Copper Gilt to be plac'd on the top of the Pariſh-Church, as a Monument of his Gratitude. 1524.

The King ſent the two *Flemings* with a ſtrong Body of Soldiers to drive out the *Danes*, who were ſtill Maſters of ſome Places in *Finland*: And the Arrival of theſe two Lords at the Head of a victorious Army, ſtruck their diſhearten'd Enemies with ſuch a Terror, that they obey'd the firſt Summons, and Surrender'd the Places without firing a Gun. They deſir'd no other Conditions, but that they ſhould be ſafely conducted to *Denmark*, and were even glad to ſhelter themſelves in the *Swediſh* Army, from the Fury of an incens'd Rabble, who notwithſtanding the Articles of their Capitulation would have taken a full and bloody Revenge for all the Cruelties and Robberies they had committed in the Country during the Reign of *Chriſtiern*. But *Guſtavus* took care to ſend 'em under the Protection of a ſtrong Convoy to *Denmark*, where they fill'd the whole Country with the News of his Conqueſts and Election: The Officers extoll'd his Power, and the Numbers and Valor of his Armies, that they might not be Cenſur'd for ſubmitting to the unequal Force of ſo potent an Enemy.

Archbiſhop *Trolle* was extremely mortify'd with the Report of *Guſtavus*'s Advancement, which left him no hope of returning to *Sweden* and recovering his former Dignity. He ſtay'd in *Denmark* after his Maſter's Flight, where he liv'd obſcurely, contemn'd by the *Danes*, and forgotten by the Court. He ſaw himſelf expos'd to the uſual Fate of Traytors, who are always ſlighted and abhor'd, as ſoon as they become uſeleſs and unſerviceable; but his Temper was ſo little alter'd by his Misfortunes that he endeavour'd to regain his Credit and Intereſt by new Treaſons, and by re-kindling the Flame that ſeem'd to be almoſt extinguiſh'd. He addreſs'd

1524. himself to the new King of *Denmark*, and told him, in a private Audience, That he had an undoubted Right to *Sweden*, as he was the Son of King *Christiern* I. and that the *Danes* themselves would despise him, if he should tamely suffer that Crown to remain on the Head of an Usurper. He added, that the *Swedish* Clergy had not forgotten their old Affection to the *Danish* Interest; and assur'd him that there were many considerable Persons in that Kingdom, who would own his Right, as soon as he should think fit to claim it.

Frederic was not able to withstand a Temptation that flatter'd his interest and Ambition. He caus'd himself to be Crown'd King of *Sweden* by that Prelate at *Copenhagen*; as if there had been nothing else requir'd to put him in possession of the Crown, but the Ceremony of setting it on his Head. At the same time he sent an Ambassador to the Senate of that Kingdom, to complain of the late Election, as a Violation of the Treaty of *Calmar*, and an Injury to the Crown of *Denmark*.

The Senate of *Sweden* would have sent the Ambassador back without suffering him to deliver his Message; but *Gustavus* was so far from being of that Opinion, that he sent some of his Officers to receive him, and allow'd him a magnificent Entertainment during his stay in the Kingdom. Afterwards he summon'd a *Convention of the Estates*, not so much to consult about the King of *Denmark*'s Proposals, as to make that Prince's Envoy an Eye-witness of the Confirmation of his Election by all the Orders of the Kingdom. The Ambassador was introduc'd into the Assembly, and in a long Harangue endeavour'd to convince 'em that they were oblig'd to own his Master's Title to the Crown of *Sweden*, by virtue of the Treaty of *Calmar*. He magnify'd the Power of that Monarch, and extoll'd his Virtues and rare Endowments; concluding, that they ought to imitate the

the Example of the *Norwegians*, and put themſelves under the Protection of a Prince that was able to defend 'em againſt *Chriſtiern*, who was preparing to force a Paſſage into the Kingdoms of the *North* with all the Forces of the *Empire*. 1524.

After the Aſſembly had heard this Diſcourſe with a great deal of Impatience and Indignation, the *Speaker* of the *Eſtates* made a ſhort, but a very brisk and ſmart Reply. He told the Ambaſſador, That *Sweden* had been too long ſubject to the Dominion of her Enemies, and would take care to lodge the Supreme Power in better Hands for the future; That all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom had, by a voluntary Election, put themſelves under the Protection of their *Deliverer*, who would preſerve his Right and their Liberty in ſpite of the Pretenſions and Oppoſition of the *Danes*; That the Treaty of *Calmar* was violated almoſt as ſoon as it was concluded; That the *Swedes*, notwithſtanding their Inteſtine Diviſions, choſe rather to make the Kingdom the Seat of a bloody War for more than a Hundred Years, than to ſubmit to a Treaty that was ſo injurious and odious to the whole Nation; and that now they were united under a Victorious Prince, he would find it a hard Task to perſuade 'em to reſume their broken Fetters.

The Eſtates were not ſatisfy'd with rejecting the King of *Denmark*'s Claim; but to give *Guſtavus* a more convincing Mark of their Affection and Fidelity to his Intereſt, they proceeded immediately to give Judgment againſt Archbiſhop *Trolle*, and, in the Ambaſſador's preſence, declar'd that Prelate a Traytor and a Enemy to his Country: And, in the heat of their Zeal, they made a Solemn Act or Decree, by which they oblig'd themſelves to approve whatever *Guſtavus* ſhould think fit to do or attempt for the Preſervation of his Dignity, granting him full Power to declare War or conclude a Peace with-

1524. out calling a Meeting or *Convention of the Eſtates*, and reſolving that his Enemies ſhould be reputed Enemies to the State and Nation. Thus the *Swedes* were ſo charm'd with the Valor and excellent Qualities of their new Monarch, that they thought they could not more effectually ſecure the Liberty and Happineſs of the Subject, than by confirming and enlarging the Prerogative of the Crown: And that Cunning Prince, under the ſpecious Title of the *Defender of the Publick Liberty*, was advancing by ſlow, but ſure Steps, to an abſolute Authority over the Kingdom.

He kept the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador at Court ſome Days after he had receiv'd his Audience; and order'd the principal Lords of the Kingdom to Treat him by turns at their Houſes. Afterwards he invited him to be preſent at a Review which he took of his Forces, pretending that 'twas meerly an effect of his Complaiſance to that Miniſter, tho' his true Deſign was to make him a Witneſs of the Strength and Number of his Troops. He honour'd him with magnificent Preſents at his departure; and left no means uneſſay'd to gain him, or at leaſt to make him give an advantageous Character of his Power and Grandeur. At laſt he diſmiſs'd him, and ſent an Envoy along with him to the King of *Denmark*, with Orders to demand the Liberty of the *Adminiſtrator*'s Widow, and of the other Ladies whoſe Huſbands were put to Death by *Chriſtiern*.

Theſe Ladies were ſtill kept Priſoners in *Denmark*; and *Guſtavus* knew that he could neither oblige the *Swedes*, nor raiſe his own Glory more effectually, than by procuring their Liberty. But theſe were not the only, nor the moſt important Inſtructions he gave to his Envoy: He conſider'd that *Chriſtiern* had put himſelf under the Protection of a Prince who was able to put him in poſſeſſion of the Kingdoms he had loſt, eſpecially if he ſhould find

'em

'em divided. And therefore he gave ſecret Orders to his Agent to ſtudy the Character of King *Frederic*, to diſcover his Deſigns and the Inclinations of his Council, and to diſpoſe 'em to a firm and laſting Peace, which was equally neceſſary for both theſe Monarchs, to ſettle their Authority in the beginning of their Reigns. 1524

The *Swediſh* Envoy at his arrival at the Court of *Denmark*, deliver'd his Meſſage publickly, demanding the Liberty of the Princeſs and the other *Swediſh* Ladies: But afterwards, in a private Audience, he complain'd in his Maſter's Name, of the Injury that Monarch had receiv'd from the King of *Denmark*, by ſending an Ambaſſador to *Sweden*, without acquainting him with his Intention, or directing the Embaſſy to him. He repreſented to him, That the Kings his Predeceſſors, notwithſtanding their Pretenſions to the Crown of *Sweden*, were more careful to obſerve the common Rules of Decency, even during the late War between the two Kingdoms; and that they were ſo far from ſcrupling to acknowledge the Dignity and Authority of the *Adminiſtrators*, that they directed the Letters and Embaſſies to them, which they ſent to the whole Nation. He added, with a great deal of Courage and Reſolution, that 'twou'd be more proper, for a Prince that was not well fix'd upon his Throne, to ſecure his Intereſt at home, than to think of Invading his Neighbours; and that tho' the King, his Maſter, entertain'd not any ambitious Thoughts of Aggrandizing himſelf or extending the Limits of his Dominions, his Army and Garriſons were in ſo good a Condition, that 'twas beyond the Power of all his Enemies to make themſelves Maſters of one Inch of *Swediſh* Ground. And beſides, the cunning Miniſter took occaſion to inſinuate, that *Guſtavus* might, if he pleas'd, be acknowledg'd King of *Sweden* by *Chriſtiern* himſelf, who, fixing all his Thoughts and Deſigns upon the Re-

1524. Reduction of *Denmark*, had offer'd to relinquish and resign his Pretensions to *Sweden*, provided *Gustavus* would enter into a League against the *Danes* But he added, that his Master refus'd absolutely to entertain any Correspondence with his Father's Murderer, and declar'd that he was his Enemy both as a private Person, and as King of *Sweden*.

Frederic perceiv'd, by the Courage and Resolution of the *Swedish* Envoy, and by the Relation of his own Ambassador, that *Gustavus*'s Power was greater than the Archbishop had represented it: He found that 'twould not be convenient, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to renew ancient Pretensions that might make his Country the Seat of a War. He offer'd to come to a Friendly Agreement with *Gustavus*, and to enter into an Offensive and Defensive League with him against *Christiern*; and for a Pledge and Mark of his Esteem and Friendship, he sent back the *Administrator*'s Widow, and the rest of the *Swedish* Ladies that had been retain'd his Prisoners in *Denmark* since the Massacre of *Stockholm*, appointing an honourable Convoy to attend them.

July. *Gustavus*, with all his Court, went to meet the Widow-Princess, and receiv'd her with all the Respect that was due to her Birth and Merit. He gave her an Apartment in the Castle of *Stockholm*, and advanc'd her to the Rank she held in the Kingdom during the Life of the *Administrator*. He endeavour'd, with all imaginable Marks of Honour and Respect, to make her bear with less Impatience the Misfortunes of her Family, and put all the rest of the Ladies in Possession of their Estates. Most of 'em had Youth enough to recommend 'em to second Husbands; but almost all the Lords of their Quality were either kill'd in the Massacre of *Stockholm*, or were already marry'd. No Woman of Quality, whether Maid or Widow, was suffer'd, in *Sweden*,

to contract an Alliance with a Family leſs noble than her own. But the King remov'd that Obſtacle and permitted theſe Ladies to chuſe their Husbands as they pleas'd, tho' under that ſeeming Complaiſance he conceal'd a politic Deſign; for he manag'd their Inclinations ſo dexterouſly that they were eaſily perſwaded to chuſe the principal Officers of his Army. He exhorted theſe Illuſtrious Widows to prefer Merit before Riches, and to beſtow their Fortunes and Affections on Men that had loſt part of their Blood in the Service of their Country, rather than on thoſe who deriv'd their Blood from a long ſeries of noble Anceſtors, but had never ſpent a drop of it for the defence and preſervation of the State. By theſe Alliances he ſecur'd the greateſt Families of the Kingdom, and at the ſame time found out a cheap way to reward his Creatures, and to enable 'em to ſerve him more effectually. 1524.

Whatever Joy he expreſt at the Arrival of the *Adminiſtrator's* Widow, the inward ſatisfaction of his Mind was not anſwerable to thoſe external Demonſtrations. She had two Children, who were meer Infants at the death of her Husband, Prince *Steno*, for whoſe memory and Family the *Swedes* had an extraordinary Veneration. *Guſtavus* took the two young Princes, under Pretext of educating 'em in the Palace, and reſolv'd to provide a Husband for the Princeſs their Mother, who could not draw any advantage from that Alliance to the prejudice of his Authority and Government. He propos'd and made her accept of *Tureiohanſon*, the firſt Senator and *Great Mareſchal* of the Kingdom. The King had conſider'd the Character of that Lord, and found him to be ſuch a Perſon as he deſign'd for a Husband to the Princeſs. He was a Man of great Quality, and had a conſiderable Eſtate both in *Sweden* and *Denmark*: He was extreamly proud of theſe Advantages, but had neither Conduct nor Courage to recommend

1524. commend him to the Esteem and Affection of the Soldiers. His *Birth* was his only *Merit*, and consequently he could not be suppos'd to have any considerable Interest in a Kingdom where a *brave Warrior* was infinitely more esteem'd than one that could only boast of his Descent from an *Illustrious Family*.

Gustavus made it his next care to find out the best Expedients to weaken the Power of the *Clergy*, whom he suspected and hated for their great Riches, and for the Affection they still retain'd to the *Danish* Government, which had always maintain'd their Authority. Arch-bishop *Trolle* was still a zealous Promoter of that Interest: 'Twas by his Advice that *Frederic* caus'd himself to be crown'd King of *Sweden*, and to preserve his Credit with that Prince, he entertain'd a secret Correspondence with the *Swedish* Clergy. The King was resolv'd to humble a Body of Men, who by their Power and Cabals had always disturb'd the Government and oppos'd the Authority of the Prince, and were never satisfied but when they were intrusted with the largest share of the management of publick Affairs. But he was oblig'd to defer the execution of that Design for some time, and was too prudent to begin his Reign with disputing the Privileges of an Order, whom the most absolute Prince should never touch but with a tender and wary Hand.

He contented himself at first with managing the Elections for the filling up of vacant Benefices. He procur'd two Persons to be nam'd to the Bishopricks of *Stregnez* and *Westeras*, who were intirely devoted to him, and could not pretend to any Power or Interest in the Kingdom but by his Favour and Protection. Afterwards he sent word to the Canons of *Upsal*, that considering the Flight and Condemnation of their Arch-bishop, 'twou'd be convenient to chuse a fit Person to succed him. After the Forms

Sommer, and *Petrus Magni*.

and

and Proceedings that are requiſite in ſuch Caſes, and the uſual Citation and Summoning of that Prelate to return to the Kingdom and vindicate himſelf from the Crimes that were laid to his Charge, his Contumacy in not appearing was reputed a voluntary Abdication, and the Chapter proceeded to a new Election. By virtue of a Recommendation from the Court, which even then was not much different from an abſolute Order, the Choice fell upon one *John Magnus*, a Native of *Sweden*, who was learned in Scholaſtick Divinity, very pious, and of an exemplary Life. He was naturally of a fearful Temper, and unfit for the management of Affairs: He was a Lover of Solitude, and had no Intereſt in the Kingdom; and conſequently was neither capable of forming nor proſecuting any Deſigns againſt the Government. *Guſtavus* concluded that by theſe Nominations he had ſecur'd the Quiet of the State, which was uſually diſturb'd by the Ambition of the Biſhops. But as he was entertaining himſelf with the delightful Proſpect of an un-interrupted Proſperity, as the glorious Reward and Fruit of his Labours, and was preparing to make his Subjects ſenſible of their Happineſs under the kind Influences of his Government, he was engag'd, by the Regency of *Lubeck*, in an Affair that put him to a great deal of Charge and Trouble. 1524.

After the *Flight* and Abdication of *Chriſtiern*, *Severin de Norbi* retir'd to the Iſle of *Gothland*, exclaiming againſt the *Daniſh* Rebellion, and proteſting that he would revenge his Maſter's Injuries upon *Frederick* and *Guſtavus*, whom he branded with the odious Name of *Uſurpers*. His Ships cruis'd perpetually upon the *Baltick* Sea, and took ſeveral conſiderable Prizes. The ſucceſs of his Firſt Attempts, and the Richneſs of his Prizes made him extreamly arrogant; and he was ſo powerfully charm'd 1525.

1525. charm'd with the tempting Prospect of raising his Fortune by so quick and easy a way that he resolv'd to Attack all the Ships that had the misfortune to fall into his Hands, and made the Port of *Wisbi*, the Capital City of the Island, a Rendezvous or Retiring-Place for several other Pirates who infested the *Baltick* Sea. Thus of *Admiral of Denmark* he became a *Captain of Pirates*, and taking down the *Danish* Colours from his Ships, assum'd the Quality of *Prince of Gothland*. He stil'd himself the *Friend of God*, and *Enemy of all the World*; and boasted with a great deal of Insolence that he acknowledg'd no other Superiors but *God* and the *Sun*.

The Merchants of *Lubeck* were possess'd of the whole Commerce and Trade of *Sweden*, in Exclusion to all other Nations, by Virtue of the Treaty which the Regency concluded with *Gustavus*'s Secretary. And the Magistrates of that City had granted a Right of Partner-Ship to the *Hanse-Towns* of *Dantzick*, *Hamburgh*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, and *Lunenburgh*. But their Ships were so narrowly watch'd by *Norbi*, and the rest of the Pirates, that few or none of them escap'd. The Regency of *Lubeck*, which for the most part was compos'd of the Principal Merchants of the City, being deeply concern'd in these Losses, would have assaulted *Norbi* and endeavour'd to unkennel the rest of the *Corsaires*, if they had not been deterr'd by the expensiveness of the War, and the uncertainty of the Event. In so pressing a Difficulty they resolv'd to have recourse to the Celebrated Valour of *Gustavus*, and to send one of their principal Magistrates to engage him in the Attempt, under pretext that the Isle of *Gothland* was an ancient *Fief* or Dependency of the Crown of *Sweden*. They intrusted the Negotiation of so important an Affair to one *Herman*, an Old Consul of the City, who under the seeming

ſeeming Candour and Simplicity of an honeſt *Mer-* 1525.
chant conceal'd all the Craftineſs and Subtilty of the moſt diſſembling *Stateſman*.

After his Arrival at *Stockholm* he complimented *Guſtavus* in the name of his Maſters, and Congratulated the Glory and Proſperity of his Reign. Then complaining of *Norbi*'s Piracies he told the King that the *Regency* would have ſent an Army to *Gothland*, to extirpate that Neſt of Pirates, if they had not been certainly inform'd that the Iſland belong'd to the Crown of *Sweden*; that all the Inhabitants of the North were ſurpriz'd that ſo potent and Victorious a Prince would ſuffer ſuch an infamous Crew to chuſe a Retreat in his Dominions; that *Sweden* was in a manner inveſted by the Ships of thoſe inſolent Pirates; that his Majeſty's Honour and the intereſt of his Subjects oblig'd him to Scour the Seas of theſe Rovers, who ruin'd the Trade of his Kingdom; and that it would be of great Importance for the ſecurity of his Government to make himſelf Maſter of an Iſland which cover'd the greateſt part of the *Swediſh* Coaſts.

Guſtavus was not ignorant of the pretenſions he had to that Iſland, and of all the Advantages of it's Situation with reſpect to *Sweden*; but he was loath to engage in a Foreign War, and to carry his Army out of the Kingdom in the beginning of his Reign, leſt ſome diſturbance ſhould happen, or *Chriſtiern* ſhould make a Deſcent, in his Abſence. Nor was he Maſter of a ſufficient Fund to defray the Charge of ſo conſiderable an Expedition, much leſs to carry on the War, if *Norbi* ſhould make a longer Defence than he expected, or if the King of *Denmark* ſhould take his part, and concern himſelf in the Quarrel. And beſides, he was ſenſible that the only Reaſon which made thoſe Trading Cities ſo deſirous to engage him in a War with the Pyrates, was, that they might oblige him at his own

Charge

1525. Charge to ſecure 'em in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe vaſt Advantages they enjoy'd by ingroſſing the whole Commerce of *Sweden*.

Having duly weigh'd the Importance of theſe Reaſons, he told the *Lubeck* Ambaſſador that he was not diſpos'd to undertake the Imployment of a *Knight Errant*, and to rove about the World in Queſt of Adventures; that his Preſence was neceſſary in his own Kingdom, and that 'twas reaſonable his Subjects ſhould enjoy the ſweetneſs of a Peace which he had procur'd for 'em by the ſucceſs of his Arms. He added, that he was not ignorant of his undoubted Right to the Iſle of *Gothland*, but that the King of *Denmark* had alſo ſome pretenſions to the ſame Iſland, and conſequently that the Attempt in which the *Regency* of *Lubeck* would engage him would certainly make that Prince his Enemy; and concluded with aſſuring the Ambaſſador that he would endeavour to expel *Norbi* and the reſt of the Pyrates out of the Iſland, as ſoon as the Difference betwixt him and *Frederick* could be brought to an Amicable Concluſion.

The *Lubeck* Envoy perceiv'd by this Anſwer that the King was diſſatisfied that the Merchants of that City ſhould enjoy the whole advantage of the *Swediſh* Commerce, without paying any Cuſtoms or Duties; and that he was reſolv'd to repay 'em in their own Coin by taking advantage of their preſent Neceſſities. And therefore to gain him to a Compliance with the Deſires of that Republic, he made the following Propoſals: That the *Hanſe-Towns* ſhould furniſh him with a Fleet to tranſport his Forces into the Iſland; that by the conſent of the *Regency* of *Lubeck*, the payment of the Sum due to that Republic from *Sweden*, ſhould be delay'd for five Years; and that in caſe his Majeſty could not make himſelf Maſter of the Iſland, the *Regency* ſhould bear a ſhare in the Charge of the Expedition. He offer'd alſo

that

that the *Hanſe-Towns*, aſſociated with *Lubeck*, ſhould keep the Sea with a potent Fleet, to intercept any Succors or Relief that might be ſent from *Denmark*; and added, that in caſe King *Frederic* ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in claiming the Sovereignty of *Gothland*, the *Regency* would undertake to Negotiate a Match betwixt his Majeſty and *Dorothy* the Princeſs of *Denmark*; and that in Conſideration of the Marriage, her Father ſhould reſign all his Pretenſions to that Iſland. 1525.

The Ambaſſador induſtriouſly divulg'd, both at Court and among the People, the advantageous Propoſals he had made to the King, that the *Swedes* might think themſelves concern'd in the ſucceſs of his Negotiation. And beſides, he endeavour'd to perſuade ſome of the Senators, by ſubtil and crafty Inſinuations, that if the King ſhou'd reject the Offers he had made him, the *Hanſe-Towns* would be oblig'd to have recourſe to the King of *Denmark*, and to joyn their Forces with that Prince's Army to drive the Pirates out of the Iſland. At the ſame time he gain'd ſeveral Merchants who dealt and correſponded with thoſe of *Lubeck*, and conſequently were concern'd, as well as they, in the Prizes that were taken by *Norbi*. Thus he form'd a Party in the Senate, and among the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who had not yet loſt their Right to diſcover their Sentiments concerning State-Affairs. The common People were ſo accuſtom'd to hear of *Guſtavus*'s Victories, that they fancy'd him to be Invincible; and being cunningly wheedl'd by the Ambaſſador's Emiſſaries, they ran to the Gates of the Palace, crying out all the way, that 'twas a ſhame for *Sweden* to ſuffer the Inſolence of thoſe Pyrates, who ruin'd the Trade of the Kingdom; that the Sea was ſo peſter'd with 'em that a Boat durſt ſcarce adventure to ſail out of the Port, and that they were not afraid to come within the reach of the Guns of the

1525. Caſtle. And even ſome of the principal Lords of the Kingdom, perceiving that the King was ſtill irreſolute, could not forbear telling him, that the *Adminiſtrator Suanto* would never have ſuffer'd theſe Pirates to inſult the Coaſts of the Kingdom.

Guſtavus would not bear a Reproach that ſeem'd to accuſe him of Weakneſs and Cowardiſe: He reply'd, in an angry Tone, That neither his *Friends* nor his *Enemies* had ever ſuſpected him of want of Courage; that he would no longer reſiſt their Importunities; but that he might venture to foretel that the Succeſs of that Expedition would not anſwer their Deſires and Expectations. Thus he was at laſt prevail'd with to ſign the Treaty, which was alſo ſubſcrib'd by the Ambaſſador, as Plenipotentiary from the *Regency* of *Lubeck*, whither he return'd to haſten the departure of the Fleet, according to the Agreement concluded with *Guſtavus*.

That wiſe Monarch had eſtabliſh'd his Authority on ſuch ſolid Foundations, that he neither dreaded the Murmuring of the People, nor the Diſſatisfaction of the Nobility; nor could the united Remonſtrances of all his Subjects have engag'd him in that Deſign, if he had not been afraid that the *Hanſe*-Towns would have enter'd into a Treaty with the *Danes*. He knew that *Norbi* was not in a Condition to oppoſe the Force of *Sweden*, and that he might eaſily find an opportunity to cruſh ſo feeble an Enemy; but he was ſenſible that 'twould be a difficult Task to expel the *Danes*, if they ſhould take this Occaſion to make themſelves Maſters of the Iſland. In order to the execution of the Deſign he had undertaken, he commanded the Troops that were appointed for that Expedition to march, without noiſe, toward the Port of *Calmar*, which is oppoſite to *Gothland*: And notwithſtanding his Unwillingneſs to undertake a War in the preſent Juncture

cture of Affairs, as ſoon as he was engag'd in the Attempt he began to proſecute it with ſo much Vigor, that he order'd all the Plate in the Palace to be melted down, to maintain the Charge of the Expedition. He went himſelf to *Calmar* to receive the *Lubeck* Ships, and ſaw his Troops embark under the Command of *Bernard de Milen.* 1525.

The General Landed without oppoſition at the Head of Eight thouſand Men, and in leſs than 15 Days made himſelf Maſter of all *Gothland*, except *Wisby*, the Capital City, and the only fortify'd Place in the Iſland, which he inveſted. *Norbi* ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected an Attack, and finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the Power of the King of *Sweden*, ſet up King *Frederic*'s Colours in the higheſt place of the Town, and at the ſame time ſent one of his Creatures to that Prince, offering to acknowledge him as Sovereign, if he would aſſiſt him with ſome Troops to oppoſe the *Swediſh* Invaſion.

Theſe Propoſals were very welcome to *Frederic*; for tho' he had not look'd upon *Gothland* as a dependency of the Crown of *Denmark*, 'twas his Intereſt, according to the uſual Policy of all Sovereigns, to curb the growing Power of a neighbouring Prince. He was glad of any Opportunity to ſtop the rapid Progreſs of that Young Conqueror, and would have willingly ſent *Norbi* the Aſſiſtance he deſir'd; but the Fleet of *Lubeck* and of the reſt of the *Hanſe*-Towns kept the Sea, and he was afraid of engaging in a Foreign War, at a time when he had reaſon to fear a Domeſtick Invaſion in order to the Reſtauration of *Chriſtiern*, whom the Emperor had ſolemnly receiv'd under his Protection.

Theſe Conſiderations made him chuſe rather to try the Effect of a Negotiation, than to hazard a Rupture with ſo Potent a Neighbour: And in purſuance of that Deſign, he ſent an Ambaſſador to *Lubeck*, to complain of the King of *Sweden*'s In-

1525. juſtice, and to deſire the *Regency* to imploy their Intereſt with that Prince to oblige him to withdraw his Forces out of an Iſland that did not belong to him. *Frederic* was not ignorant of the League which that *Republic* had made with *Guſtavus*: But to prevent the ill Conſequences of that Treaty, his Ambaſſadors had Orders to repreſent to the Magiſtrates of *Lubeck*, that 'twas their Intereſt to put a timely ſtop to the prevailing Power of *Sweden*; that *Guſtavus* was a daring and couragious Prince, who would infallibly endeavour to make his Conqueſts as boundleſs as his Ambition, if his Deſigns were not prevented by a ſeaſonable Oppoſition; that the Sovereignty of the Iſle of *Gothland* was an undoubted Right of the Crown of *Denmark*; that *Norbi* was intruſted with the Government of it by *Chriſtiern* II. and that ſince he was willing to ſubmit to his lawful Sovereign, the King his Maſter could not refuſe to protect his own Subject, and to defend that Iſland to the utmoſt of his power, as a Territory that belong'd to his Crown. He added, that his Majeſty would ſubmit his Right to the Judgment of the *Hanſe-Towns*, rather than diſturb the Peace of the *North*, and that he was willing the Iſland ſhould remain ſequeſtred in the Hands of the *Regency* of *Lubeck*, till the Controverſy between him and *Guſtavus*, ſhould be decided by a final Sentence.

The Magiſtrates of that City were eaſily perſuaded to embrace a Propoſal, which if it ſhould take effect, would not only ſecure 'em from the Pirates, but free 'em from the Obligation of keeping a Fleet at Sea to cover the *Swediſh* Conqueſts. They were extreamly pleas'd with the *Sequeſtration*, and reſolv'd rather to be at the Charge of maintaining a Garriſon in the Iſland, than to ſuffer it to fall into the Hands of *Guſtavus*, who might one Day make uſe of that opportunity to diſturb their Trade, and to render himſelf more Abſolute in the *Baltick* Sea.

Thus

Thus the *Regency* concluded a ſecret Treaty with *Frederic*'s Ambaſſador, by which they oblig'd themſelves to open a free Paſſage to the *Daniſh* Succors. 'Twas alſo agreed, that the King of *Denmark* ſhould ſend an Ambaſſador to *Guſtavus*, to complain of his Expedition againſt the Iſle of *Gothland*; and that his Envoy ſhould be follow'd by Ambaſſadors from the *Hanſe-Towns*, who ſhould offer their Mediation, and declare War againſt either of the two contending Parties that ſhould refuſe to come to an Accommodation. 1525.

Immediately the *Daniſh* Forces were order'd to Embark, and enter'd the Port of *Wisby* without any oppoſition from the Fleet of *Lubeck*, and ſoon after the Ambaſſador of that Town arriv'd at *Stockholm*, to expoſtulate with *Guſtavus* in the Name of the King his Maſter, for beſieging a Place in his Dominions without declaring War againſt him. At the ſame time the Ambaſſadors of the *Hanſe-Towns* came to propoſe a Truce, and to deſire an Interview betwixt the two Kings at *Malmogen*. They offer'd the Mediation of their Maſters, and requir'd the Interview in ſo peremptory a manner, that *Guſtavus* perceiv'd he muſt either ſubmit to that Expedient, or expect immediately the Declaration of an open War.

Thus fearing to be aſſaulted by ſo potent a Confederacy, he was forc'd to divert the threatning Storm by conſenting to the Conditions that were propos'd to him. To prevent any Suſpicion of Treachery, *Frederic*, who was Maſter of the Place appointed for the Interview, ſent Four Senators, and Six of the moſt conſiderable Lords in *Denmark*, to remain at *Stockholm* as Hoſtages, during the Conference betwixt the two Kings. *Guſtavus* was ſenſible of the Danger to which he expos'd himſelf, but he was ſo afraid of irritating the *Hanſe-Towns*, and ſo deſirous to make the *Danes* themſelves acknowledge

1525. knowledge his Title to the Crown of *Sweden*, that he resolv'd at all Adventures to pursue his intended Journey. He repair'd to *Malmogen*, accompany'd with the Great Marshal *Tureiohanson*, and two other Senators, after he had receiv'd another safe Conduct from *Frederic*, and the Security of the *Hanse*-Towns for the Safety of his Person; tho' it may be doubted whether any Security can be given for a King, when he is in the Dominions of his Enemies.

September. The reciprocal Pretensions of the two Crowns to the Isle of *Gothland* were the Subject of this Conference. The Matter was debated on both Sides with a great deal of Heat; and each Party produc'd their respective Titles. *Bildius*, High-Chamberlain to the King of *Denmark*, and *Tureiohanson*, for *Gustavus*, urg'd the Claims and defended the Rights of their Masters: But in the progress of the Conference the Great Marshal betray'd the Cause and Interest of the Crown of *Sweden*. He could not without a secret Envy behold the Power and Prosperity of *Gustavus*, and was unwilling to submit to a Master, who not long before was his Equal. He had a very considerable Estate in *Denmark*, which made him afraid of disobliging that Monarch, who had threaten'd to deprive him of all the Lands he possess'd in his Kingdom, if he should persist too obstinately in the Defence of his Master. That Menace stopp'd his Mouth so effectually, that he pretended a Cold and a violent Cough, to excuse him from Speaking. *Gustavus* seeing himself betray'd by his Treacherous Minister, undertook the Defence of his own Cause, and alledg'd with a great deal of Vigor and Eloquence that the Isle of *Gothland* was always reckon'd a part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*; that the *Danes* were only admitted into it by virtue of the Treaty of *Calmar*; that their Kings had no other Right to it, during the Union

Union of the two Kingdoms; but as they were Sovereigns of *Sweden*; that 'twas plain and undoubtedly certain that King *Albert* Mortgag'd the Iſland to the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order for the Sum of Twenty Thouſand Roſe-Nobles; that Queen *Margaret* impos'd a Tax, which was Levy'd only in *Sweden*, to Redeem it; that King *Eric* her Nephew and Succeſſor retir'd thither after his Abdication, and afterwards deliver'd it up to the *Danes*, to the Prejudice of the Crown of *Sweden*. The ſolidity of theſe Reaſons, put the *Daniſh* Miniſter to ſilence; but the Ambaſſador of the *Hanſe*-Towns, reſolving to keep up the Difference, referr'd the Deciſion to the Regency of *Lubeck*, under pretext of bringing it to a Friendly Agreement. They would have alſo oblig'd the King of *Sweden* to withdraw his Troops out of the Iſland, and propos'd that the City of *Lubeck* ſhould put a Garriſon into *Wisby* according to the private Treaty they had concluded with the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador. But *Guſtavus* was ſo far from conſenting to either of theſe Motions, that he proteſted he would rather break off the Conference and declare War, than ſuffer himſelf to be bubbl'd out of his Conqueſts: And the King of *Denmark*, who had put a ſtrong Garriſon into *Wisby*, inſtead of inſiſting upon the Sequeſtration, which he had only propos'd to tempt the *Lubeckers* to break their Treaty with *Guſtavus*, was eaſily perſuaded to conſent, that every thing ſhould remain in the ſame Poſture in Expectation of the Regency's Sentence. 1525.

Theſe two Princes gave one another reciprocal Marks of Eſteem and Reſpect, notwithſtanding the Differences that reign'd between 'em. They found themſelves engag'd in the ſame Intereſt, and enter'd into a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the late King *Chriſtiern*, without mentioning the Treaty of *Calmar*. They gave each other mutual aſſurances

1525. of a ſincere Friendſhip, notwithſtanding the Natural Antipathy betwixt the Two Kingdoms. After their laſt Complements, *Guſtavus* took leave of the King of *Denmark*, and left *Malmogen* to return to *Sweden*. He had not gone far when he met the *Herman.* *Lubeck* Ambaſſador, who engag'd him in the Expedition againſt *Gothland*. The ſight of that Miniſter put him in mind of the Treachery of the Republic, and he was ſo tranſported with Fury at ſo provoking an Idea, that he ſtop'd the ſubtle Conſul, and ask'd him fiercely, What was become of the Treaty and the magnificent Promiſes of his Maſters? And at the ſame time put his Hand to his Poniard, as if he had been going to kill him: But one of the Senators that accompany'd him, prevented the Blow, and the Ambaſſador made his Eſcape. Thus *Guſtavus* retir'd out of the *Daniſh* Territories, and as he enter'd into his own Dominions, he told thoſe who follow'd him, That *he would never go out of 'em again but at the Head of an Army.*

Some of the Senators and Officers of the Army, who had the largeſt ſhare in his Confidence and Favor, took this occaſion to conjure him that he would not longer delay the Ceremony of his *Coronation.* To convince him of the importance and reaſonableneſs of their deſire, they told him, that 'twas but too probable the Succeſs of his Arms and the Glory of his Victories had procur'd him the Envy and Jealouſy of his Neighbours, and perhaps alſo the ſecret Hatred of ſome Great Perſons in his own Kingdom; and that if either of 'em could obtain their deſire he would be leſs Fortunate and Happy. They added, that there were ſeveral Lords in *Sweden* who pretended they could hardly look upon him as their Sovereign, becauſe he had not yet receiv'd the Crown; and concluded, that the Ceremony of his *Coronation* was abſolutely neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment

Eſtabliſhment of his Authority, and the Confirmation of his Title, that neither his Foreign nor Domeſtic Enemies might entertain the leaſt hope of ſeeing any diſadvantageous alteration in his Fortune. 1525.

Guſtavus was not ignorant of the Importance and Neceſſity of that Ceremony in an *Elective* Kingdom: But nothing could ſhake the reſolution he had taken to put off his Coronation till he had Executed thoſe ſecret deſigns, without which he thought he could neither ſettle his Authority nor ſecure the Happineſs of his Reign. 'Tis true, he was acknowledg'd as Sovereign, and the Army was at his diſpoſal: But he was not Maſter of a ſufficient Fund to carry on a War. The Revenues of the Crown were either Alienated or Uſurp'd, the Impoſition of Taxes was reputed Tyrannical, the *Commons* were reduc'd to extream Poverty, and the *Nobility* exhauſted by a long and Expenſive War. On the contrary, the *Clergy* was Rich and Powerful, eſpecially the *Biſhops* who had ſeiz'd on the Principal Forts and part of the Revenues of the Crown. He knew that theſe Prelates were always very careful to make the Prince take a Solemn Oath, on the Day of his Coronation, to preſerve and maintain all their Privileges: And he was ſo far from intending either to take or perform an Oath of that Nature, that he was firmly reſolv'd to Abrogate and Cancel all thoſe Privileges, which he look'd upon either as forc'd and involuntary Grants, or unjuſt Uſurpations of the Lands and Revenues of the Crown.

After he had, in a very obliging manner thank'd, theſe Lords for the Zeal they expreſs'd for his Intereſt, he told 'em that the Ceremony of his Coronation could not be perform'd without a vaſt Expence; that there were other more preſſing occaſions for Money that were abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the State; that he had receiv'd advice

1525. advice of the daily increaſe of *Chriſtiern*'s Forces and Party; that the Emperor ſeem'd reſolv'd to re-eſtabliſh that Prince in the Poſſeſſion of his former Dominions; that 'twas uncertain whether the Forces deſign'd for that Expedition would invade *Sweden* or *Denmark*; that 'twas abſolutely impoſſible to oppoſe their Deſcent without an Army by Land, and a Fleet at Sea; that he was wholly deſtitute of Money to raiſe Forces and make other neceſſary Preparations; that 'twas well known he had Mortgag'd his own Eſtate to expel the *Danes* out of the Kingdom; that he had lately melted down the Plate that belong'd to the Crown, to pay the Charge of the Expedition to *Gothland* which was thought to be of ſo great Importance for the ſecurity and freedom of Trade, and that conſidering the extream miſery of the common People and the Poverty of the Nobility after ſo long a War, 'twas high time to demand a Subſidy of the Clergy, who were actually in Poſſeſſion of above one half of the Lands and Revenues of the Kingdom, and perhaps made their Court to King *Chriſtiern* in private, on the ſcore of their never having contributed to the ſupport of his Enemies. He did not then think fit to give 'em a clearer View of his ſecret Intentions, but contented himſelf with telling 'em that 'twas the part and ought to be the care of his Friends, and eſpecially of thoſe who had ſet him upon the Throne, to furniſh him with ſufficient Power and Authority to maintain the Honor of the Poſt to which they had advanc'd him, inſtead of flattering him with the vain ſhow of an empty Ceremony.

Afterwards he open'd his mind more freely to *Larz Anderſon*, the *Chancellor*, who was a Perſon of an obſcure Birth, but full of Ambition, of a vaſt and ſoaring Genius, cunning and eloquent and bold in Council. He was Maſter of a very fruitful Invention in contriving Projects and Expedients,

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and his Mind was always full of great Deſigns. In his Youth he enter'd into Eccleſiaſtical Orders, and the Intereſt of his Friends joyn'd to his own Abilities procur'd him the Dignity of *Arch-Deacon* of the Church of *Stregnez*. He had alſo ſome proſpect of obtaining the Biſhoprick, for there were ſome who Voted for him at the Election; but he was ſo diſcourag'd by the Rubs he met with in that Way to Preferment, that he reſolv'd to try his Fortune in another Road, and left the *Church* for the *Court*, where his Merit was quickly taken notice of, and procur'd him the Eſteem of *Guſtavus*. His skill in the Laws of the Country, and his Reſentment againſt the Clergy for excluding him from a Biſhoprick were ſufficient Qualifications to recommend him to the Favour of that Prince, who wanted a proper Inſtrument to humble an Order of Men whom he both fear'd and ſuſpected. That wiſe Monarch having found ſo fit a Perſon for the Executing of his Deſigns, gave him ſeveral diſtinguiſhing marks of his Eſteem and of the Confidence he plac'd in him, and advanc'd him to the Dignity of *Chancellor*. At laſt perceiving that his Friends urg'd him with ſo much earneſtneſs to haſten the Ceremony of his *Coronation*, he told that Miniſter that he could not look upon himſelf as Sovereign of *Sweden*, ſo long as the Biſhops were Maſters of ſo many Forts and retain'd the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands and Revenues which his Predeceſſors had alienated from the Crown to enrich the ſecular and regular Clergy. But at the ſame time he acknowledg'd that he was afraid the leaſt Attempt upon the Privileges of the Church would occaſion new diſorders in the State, and that the *Swedes* out of their blind Obedience and Reſpect to their Spiritual Guides, would accuſe him of prophaneneſs for challenging his own property, and imagine him to be Guilty of a Crime againſt Religion for ſeizing on 1525.

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1525. those Lands and Treasures, which they believ'd were consecrated to God, tho' they serv'd only to maintain the Luxury and Vanity of idle and seditious Persons, who were always ready to sacrifice the publick Interest to their Ambition.

Anderson, who was possess'd with the new Doctrin that was propagated by *Luther*, and perhaps look'd upon *Religious Controversies* as mere *Philosophical Problems*, endeavour'd, like a politic Courtier, to confirm his Master in a Design, which he perceiv'd was agreeable to him. He told him, that he saw no reason why he should make the least scruple of obliging the Clergy to contribute for the Defence of the Kingdom, and even in case of necessity of seizing those Lands or Revenues which they possess'd by vertue of Legacies or Donations; that the *Church* was not confin'd to the *Clergy*, but included the whole Body of the *Faithful*; that in the pure and unspotted Infancy of the Church, and in those happy Days when that Name was common to the whole Assembly of Christians, those Riches and Revenues that are at present appropriated to the *Clergy* were possess'd in common by the *People*, who bestow'd 'em on public Uses, and especially for the Relief of the Poor; that the Name of *Church* was afterwards claim'd by the *Clergy* as their peculiar Privilege, that under the specious pretext of that Title they might make themselves Masters of those Revenues, of which they were only the Stewards and Distributors; that the Estates and Revenues of the *Laity* ought to be reputed the Patrimony of the Church as well as those of the *Clergy*; that the Clergy was the smallest part of the Church, and ought to contribute proporionably for the security and preservation of the Government by which they were protected. That he acknowledg'd 'twou'd be expedient to find out some other more plausible Pretences than the Good of the State, to prevent an Insurrection

ction of the People; who were commonly poſſeſs'd both by the Regular and Secular Clergy, that all Attempts upon their Temporalities ſtrike at Religion it ſelf. That, to fruſtrate their Claims, he muſt take advantge of *Luther's Reformation*, which began then to take Root in the Kingdom; and by the help of his Doctrine, which equally invaded the Temporal Power and the exceſſive Wealth of the Clergy, he might afterwards ſeize the Forts that were in the Hands of the Biſhops, and re-unite to the Crown all the Lands that were alienated by his Predeceſſors, with more Zeal than Policy. 1525.

That Pope *Leo* X. had indeed condemn'd *Luther*, but it was well known that famous Doctor was only odious to the *Court of Rome*, becauſe he boldly and publickly cenſur'd its great Corruption and Abuſes; and that his Opinions, which might paſs for indifferent among other Nations, as long as they were not condemn'd by the Church in a *General Council*, were in the mean time of the greateſt Importance for the ſettling of his Power in *Sweden*, and the ſucceſs of his Deſign.

That the People, having their Minds prepar'd and poſſeſs'd by *Lutheran* Doctors, would ſee with great ſatisfaction the Clergy ſtript of their great Eſtates, eſpecially if care were taken at the ſame time to eaſe the People of the heavy Taxes. That one of the beſt Expedients would be to reſtore to the Gentry the Lands given away by their Anceſtors to the Church, and that they would never be tempted to oppoſe a Doctrin that ſhould bring ſo great a Bleſſing to their Families. That the greateſt part of the *Monks* lookt upon their *Monaſteries* as diſmal, tho' ſtately Priſons; and many of 'em would be glad to quit 'em, and embrace a Religion which reſtor'd 'em to all the Rights of Civil Society. That the inferior Clergy would joyfully take hold of that occaſion to free themſelves from the Vows of *Celibacy*,

1525. *bacy*, and exchange their ſcandalous *Concubinage* for lawful *Matrimony*. That the Biſhops alone, as being moſt powerful and moſt concern'd in that Change, would probably oppoſe it; but that things were in a better poſture than in the Reign of King *Canutſon*, there being no Biſhops in *Sweden* in a condition to make War againſt their Sovereign; and, if they ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in the old Religion it might perhaps be an Advantage to him. That their Number was inconſiderable, and 'twould be no difficult matter, under ſpecious Pretences, to remove or baniſh 'em; whereas, if they embrace *Lutheraniſm*, they might pretend, by marrying, to erect their Biſhopricks into ſecular Principalities, and conſequently fruſtrate him of the main Benefit he could expect from the Eſtabliſhment of the *Lutheran* Doctrine in his Kingdom.

That after all, the Archbiſhop and Primate *John Magnus* was a timorous and wavering Prelate, and a Man of no Intereſt, who probably would think himſelf happy, tho' with the loſs of part of his Eſtate, to be excuſed from imbracing the predominant Religion of the Kingdom That the Biſhops of *Stregnez* and *Weſteras*, whom he had newly preferred to thoſe two rich Benefices, were of mean Extraction, and of too little Credit among the People to dare to oppoſe his Will; and that the Biſhops of *Vexio* and *Aboo*, knew little of the ſtate of the Controverſy betwixt the *Roman* Catholicks and the *Lutherans*, and had no great mind to dive into that Matter. That thoſe Prelates were illiterate Men, and ſuch as would be affected with nothing ſo much as the leſſening of their Revenues. That their irregular Lives and Converſations had drawn ſuch a Scand[illegible] upon 'em as would make it inconſiſtent with their Intereſt to thwart the Deſigns of their Sovereign, but would rather incline 'em to imbrace any Offer that ſhould not oblige 'em to forſake their Pleaſures.

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So there remain'd only the Biſhops of *Lincopinc* and *Scara* who might oppoſe his Deſigns; two Prelates really infatuated with their Dignity, jealous of all their Rights, wedded to their own Opinions, inclin d ſtill to the *Daniſh* Faction, notwithſtanding all King *Chriſtiern*'s Cruelties, and the moſt like to blind the people with a plauſible pretence of appearing in the Defence of the true Religion. But when *Lutheraniſm* ſhould be once received by the States of the Realm, by the plurality of Voices 'twou'd be an eaſy thing to make the Reſiſtance of thoſe Biſhops a Crime of State, and to baniſh 'em out of the Kingdom, with all ſuch as ſhould appear moſt ſtifly bent for the preſervation of the ancient Religion. To which he added, That he was not ignorant of the great Difficulties which always attended the Infancy of Governments and Empires; but that thoſe very Princes, who meet with oppoſi ion and reſiſtance in the beginning of their Reigns, are at laſt commonly reſpected and lookt upon as the Fathers of their Country. 1525.

Guſtavus could not but reliſh thoſe Reaſons of State, that were ſo agreeable to the ſecret Scheme he had laid for the ſecuring of his Government. He foreſaw the Emperor's Credit with the Pope would hinder his Holineſs from declaring in his behalf, and therefore thought 'twou'd be expedient to pull down his Authority in *Sweden*, and that nothing could be more conducive to that end than *Lutheraniſm*. He therefore eaſily ſuckt in thoſe Tenets, which perhaps he lookt upon but as the Reſult of ſome Diſputations among Divines; and thought at the ſame time, he might reaſonably imbrace that Party which ſeemed moſt favourable to the ſettling of his *Regal Power*, which moſt Sovereigns either do not or will not diſtinguiſh from the *Good of the State*.

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1525. The King would have willingly declar'd in behalf of *Lutheraniſm*, but that the Change of Religion was not a ſufficient Ground for him to compaſs his Deſigns; and beſides, a ſudden Change might have prov'd of very ill conſequence. It was therefore ſafeſt for his unſettl'd Power, to ſee the Change begun by the People, and that he ſhould ſeem afterwards to embrace this Doctrin out of meer Complaiſance to his Subjects. But all the *Swedes* had not the ſame Inclination to thoſe new Opinions as the King had, nor ſo preſſing an Intereſt to change their Religion. *Guſtavus* foreſaw, that this Change would not be the Work of one Year, by reaſon of the great and apparent Obſtacles that muſt be firſt overcome.

He was not ignorant, there would be a great number of eminent Perſons in the Realm, and even in his own Court, that would oppoſe his Enterprize and quit his Intereſt, upon the very firſt ſtep he ſhould make to aboliſh the ancient Religion. And, on the other hand, he could not endure to be charg'd with the care and defence of the State, while the ſtrongeſt Forts, which properly belong'd to the Crown, and the greateſt part of the Revenues of the Kingdom, were in the hands of thoſe who often imploy'd 'em only to curb the Regal Power, and to favour the Enemies of the State. He choſe rather, it ſeems, to expoſe himſelf to the iſſue of a Civil War, and even to venture his Crown than to Reign ſo precariouſly; or rather he ſaw himſelf ſo potent and reſpected by his People, that he thought it not at all hazardous to re-unite to the Crown a part of the Church-Lands, under the ſpecious pretence of a Reformation, and of the publick Good.

In ſo great a Deſign, and ſo very nice a Juncture, *Guſtavus* ſhew'd himſelf an able and great Politician. He took great care to conceal his Thoughts

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as to *Luther*'s Opinions; but at the ſame time gave ſecret Inſtructions to Chancellor *Anderſon*, not only to protect, as it were without his knowledge, *Olaus Petri* and the other *Lutheran* Doctors, but alſo to invite others from the Univerſities of *Germany*, that *Lutheraniſm* might make the quicker progreſs thro' the Kingdom. 1525.

Olaus, and the other *Lutheran* Doctors, being aſſur'd of the Chancellor's Protection, labour'd with great application to eſtabliſh their Doctrin, which they daily explain'd in their Sermons with unexpreſſible Zeal. Moſt of theſe new Doctors ſurpaſt the *Swediſh* Clergy in Learning and Eloquence, to which they added a certain appearance of ſtrictneſs in their Lives and Converſations, which always attends the firſt Heats of a new-broach'd Religion. Theſe Men were heard with great ſatisfaction by the common People, who are always greedy of Novelties that put 'em to no charge, and tend to the leſſening of the Power of their ſpiritual Governors. The Credit they got inſenſibly among the Vulgar, procured them the Attention and Favour of the Courtiers and the prime Nobility, who were glad to ſee the Biſhops humbled.

While theſe Doctors endeavor'd to propagate the *Lutheran* Doctrin by their Sermons, *Guſtavus* labour'd hard to find out ſome ſpecious Pretences to overthrow the Temporal Power of the Biſhops and Clergy. Immediately he fell upon the Eccleſiaſticks of the ſecond Order, and iſſu'd out ſeveral Declarations againſt the Prieſts and in behalf of the People, that the Laity might be oblig'd, by Intereſt, to favor theſe encroachments upon the Clergy, and that the People might be accuſtom'd, by degrees, to ſee the Priviledges of the Clergy abrogated.

The Prieſts in that Kingdom exacted, as it were a Tribute of the People, upon certain publick Sins, and with great rigor extorted conſiderable Fines

1525. from such as took the Diversion of Hunting or Fishing in the time of Divine Service, or abus'd the Women to whom they were contracted before the solemn Celebration of the Sacrament of Marriage. By one of the King's Declarations this Right was taken away, and the Priests were prohibited to exact such Impositions for the future. By another Declaration, the Priests were forbidden to Excommunicate either their private Enemies, or their Creditors. The Truth is, the Bishops and their Officials had so far over-stretch'd the Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction, as to appropriate to themselves all the Concerns of the Nation, that had the least relation to Religion: An Oath made in a Treaty, the Interposition of a Clergy-man which was oftentimes begg'd, the least Difference in a Contract of Marriage, were Grounds sufficient to remove a Cause from the common Courts of Justice; which made the Clergy powerful and formidable. *Gustavus* therefore abrogated that Jurisdiction entirely, under pretext that the Examination of Suits was not consistent with the ordinary Functions of Clergy-men; and by the same Declaration commanded the Clergy, that they shou'd bring their Differences before the secular Judges, to whom he committed the Cognizance and Judgment of all Causes.

At last he publish'd a Declaration against the Bishops themselves, by which they were expresly forbidden for the future to appropriate to themselves the Estates and Succession of the Clergy-men of their respective Dioceses, to the prejudice of their lawful Heirs; and commanded 'em to produce before the Senate, the Titles by virtue of which they exacted Fines and Confiscations. Thus *Gustavus* issu'd out Declarations one after another, proportionably to the progress of *Lutheranism*, which excited the Curiosity of all his Subjects, and made 'em speak every one according to his private Interest or In-

Inclination. The Nobility and Gentry, without examining the new-preach'd Doctrin, applauded the King for weakning the Power of the Clergy, which was become ſo odious; and ſome of the moſt eminent Perſons in the Kingdom declar'd publickly in favor of the *Lutherans*, hoping by this new Doctrin to recover thoſe Eſtates which their Anceſtors had given away for the Foundation of ſo many rich Monaſteries, of which the Kingdom was full. 1525.

Thoſe even among the People who had ſome knowledge of public Affairs were not diſpleas'd to ſee the Power of the Clergy moderated, or at leaſt part of their many Extortions aboliſhed, the invention of which was attributed to the Court of *Rome*, under the plauſible Names of Tithes, Indulgences and Alms. But that which gave 'em the greateſt ſatisfaction, was, that the King had put a ſtop to the litigious Proceedings of the Biſhops Officials, and other Miniſters who oppreſs'd the Kingdom, under pretext of Correction and Eccleſiaſtical Judgment.

But both the Regular and Secular Clergy grew very uneaſy at this Attempt againſt their Authority, nor cou'd they endure to be thus diſturb'd in the poſſeſſion of their Rights and Priviledges. The King ſlighting their Diſcontent, put his Troops into Winter Quarters upon their Lands, which none of his Predeceſſors had ever attempted to do, and quarter'd his Horſe in the Abbies and Monaſteries, pretending that the Peaſants were ruin'd, but in effect to keep the Monks in awe by the preſence and terror of his Soldiers. His Officers of Juſtice brought into Queſtion, by his Order, the Title of the *Carthuſians* to the rich Monaſtery of *Griphyſholm*, who own'd the King's Anceſtors to be the Founders of it, and they were oblig'd to prove the Donation or Acquiſition of the Lands they injoy'd. Having loſt their Title, they had recourſe to Preſcription;

1525. alledging, that they held the best part of their Lands from the Piety of the Lords of *Vasa*, but had lost their Title during the Confusions and Troubles of the Civil Wars. The King without regarding the Prescription, re-united to his own Estate the Lands of this Monastery, which belong'd originally to his Family; and expell'd the Monks out of it, under pretext that it was built upon his own Ground. But perhaps the true Reason was, because they denied him Admittance into their House, when he was Persecuted by *Christiern*. And 'tis not improbable that he took this way to feel the Pulse of the People, and at the same time to kindle in the Nobility a Desire to follow his Example, by appropriating to themselves the Lands that were alienated by their Ancestors.

The *Lutheran* Doctors, to make their Court, told the chief Lords of the Realm, that they had been gulled too long both by the Regular and Secular Clergy; that Purgatory was a Net in which they caught the best part of their Wealth, and that with this pious Cheat the Monks especially had bubbl'd 'em of many large Possessions they injoy'd with so much effeminacy. That they ought to re-enter their ancient Patrimony as an usurp'd Estate, without being deterr'd by an imaginary Fire. And, tho' there were such a Thing as Purgatory, yet 'twas but a Weakness to think, that the Rigor of it cou'd be allay'd by the Prayers, or Songs of a few Monks.

At the same time there was publish'd by *Olaus* a Version of the New Testament into the *Swedish* Language, being but a bare Translation of that which *Luther* had publish'd in the *German* Tongue. *Olaus*'s Disciples fail'd not to recommend the Reading of that Work in their Sermons, preaching the great Necessity and Value of it, and spreading this Book, with great care, over the whole Kingdom. They did not question but

but the People, and Women eſpecially, wou'd be pleaſed to ſee themſelves enabl'd to paſs their Verdict upon Points of Religion; and that they wou'd ſooner yield to the Authority of ſome places of Scripture, Tranſlated according to the Doctrin Preach'd to 'em, than have any thoughts of calling into Queſtion the Faithfulneſs of the Tranſlation. 1525.

The *Swediſh* Biſhops ſaw plainly that *Olaus*'s Tranſlation came from the ſame Hand that invaded their Priviledges, and that their Religion was inſulted for no other end than to pull down their Dignities. They obſerv'd in the King's Management of Affairs a Series of Projects and Deſigns, and at the ſame time an inſuperable difficulty to baffle 'em. However as the King took great care to conceal his Inclination to *Lutheraniſm*, and always made an outward ſhew of the *Roman* Religion, thoſe Prelates thought, they cou'd not without offence entertain any Suſpicion of his being an Enemy to their Religion.

In ſhort, they reſolv'd to diſſemble as he did. But they went in a Body to attend his Majeſty, and pray'd him to order that *Olaus*'s Followers might be brought to their Trials as Notorious Hereticks. The Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, who ſpoke in the name of all the reſt, repreſented to the King, that *Olaus*'s Tranſlation was but a Copy of *Luther*'s, condemned by the Holy See, and by the moſt famous Univerſities of *Europe*. Then he ſuggeſted to him in a few words, but with a great deal of reſpect and moderation, that the Church-Immunities, and even the Priviledges of the People, had been violated by his late Declarations, which they were ſenſible he was adviſed to publiſh by the Enemies of their Religion. He therefore pray'd him in the name of the whole Clergy to call 'em in, and exhorted him in pathetick and reſpectful Terms to be the Protector of the Religion of the State, and of its Miniſters.

1525. In answer to which the King said, that the Clergy having seiz'd upon the Crown-Lands in the time of the Civil Wars, they must not take it ill, if his Officers made a strict inquiry into that matter, and that he requir'd only a Restitution of what had been usurp'd, or unjustly alienated. As for *Olaus*, he told them with a seeming Indifference, that he was ready not only to deliver him up to 'em, but also any other of his Subjects that shou'd be convicted of Heresy; but that he cou'd not deny him the Justice to hear him before he were condemn'd, adding that he had a good Account of his Life and Manners; that the Charge laid against him by his Brethren might be the effect of Envy, and that it was no new thing for most Divines promiscuously to Brand all that differ from 'em in Opinion, with the odious name of Hereticks, tho' very often upon frivolous Questions of Scholastick Divinity, that are not essential to Religion.

The Arch-Bishop being equally surpriz'd and displeas'd to see the King look upon the Affair of *Olaus* but as a Quarrel of idle and conceited Divines, offer'd, with some heat, to convince that Clergy-man, in the presence of his Majesty and the whole Senate, of many dangerous Errors, not considering that such Witnesses are always the Judges of the Conferences at which they assist. The King, willing by his example to accustom his Subjects to a strict Inquiry into matters of Religion, accepted of the Bishop's offer, and the Conference was order'd to be held at *Upsal*.

1526. March. The King, attended by the Senate, and follow'd by his whole Court, went thither at the time appointed. *Olaus*, on his side, appear'd in the Assembly, with all the Assurance he had of the King's private Protection. But the Bishops refusing to enter the Lists with him, under pretence that their Dignity made 'em his Judges, but perhaps loth to ex-

expoſe themſelves with a Man that was both Learn'd and Eloquent, they produc'd a Famous Divine nam'd *Gallus*, and ſet him up for a Champion againſt *Olaus*. 1526.

The King order'd the Acts of this Conference to be Regiſter'd. The two Doctors diſputed very long concerning Purgatory, Indulgences, Communion in both kinds, Celibacy of the Clergy, the Temporal Power and Dignities of the Church; but cou'd not agree among themſelves, as to the Nature of their Proofs. The Roman Catholick Doctor us'd promiſcuouſly the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Tradition, the Fathers and Councils. But *Olaus* wou'd only admit the Authority of Scripture, and wou'd oblige his Adverſary to prove not only the Doctrin, but even the Diſcipline of the Church, by ſo many expreſs paſſages of the New Teſtament. *Bazius Hiſt. Eccleſ. Succ.*

Among other things, he requir'd him earneſtly to ſhew him in the Goſpel, and make it out by the Example of the Apoſtles, that Biſhops might enjoy Principalities and ſecular Dignities, and make uſe (as they did daily) of the Thunderbolts of the Church againſt their Enemies, meerly for worldly concerns. The Courtiers, being always of the Religion of their Prince, highly applauded *Olaus*. Some of the Senators ask'd *Gallus*, whether it were poſſible that the Holy Writ ſhou'd not contain all the neceſſary Proofs to maintain the Confeſſion of Faith. To which the Catholick Doctor gave this Anſwer, That he cou'd not lay aſide his Proofs from Tradition in matter of Diſcipline, without betraying the Cauſe he was bound to defend; and, tho' he ſhou'd confine himſelf to the Authority of Scripture, he wou'd never conſent, that his Adverſary ſhou'd make uſe of ſo unfaithful a Tranſlation as his own.

1526. *Olaus* undertook to juſtify it, but might have repented ſo raſh an Attempt, for 'twou'd have been a hard task for him to defend all the Faults he had committed in that Work after his Maſter. The King therefore fearing leaſt *Gallus* ſhou'd convince him of having corrupted the Sacred Text to ſerve his own Opinions, put a ſudden ſtop to the Conference, by deſiring the Arch-Biſhop to make a new Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to compare it with the other. He aſſur'd him, he wou'd read it with great ſatisfaction: And for a further Incouragement, he told him ſuch a Piece of Work would be the more uſeful in the Kingdom, becauſe few Prieſts in it underſtood the Latine Tongue, and that they frequently miſtook the meaning of the Text, for want of having it in their Mother Tongue. To which Reaſons he added ſome private Careſſes he made to that Prelate, and diſmiſs'd him, with aſſurances that he wou'd ſuffer nothing to paſs in his Kingdom in Matters of Religion, without his knowledge and advice.

The Arch-Biſhop dazel'd by thoſe plauſible Reaſons and the Careſſes of his Prince, ſummon'd to *Stockholm* his Six Suffragan Biſhops, and the Principal Perſons both of the Regular and Secular Clergy. To whom he repreſented the neceſſity of making a ſpeedy Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, in oppoſition to that of *Olaus*; he told 'em, it was the King's deſire, and that it was an infallible means to pleaſe his Majeſty, and keep him in their Communion. The Biſhop of *Lincopinc* vigorouſly oppos'd the undertaking of that Work, ſaying that our Saviour had left the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures to the Biſhops and Doctors of his Church, left no occaſion that there might be for the ſimple and ignorant to contend about it. That a Tranſlation in the preſent Juncture of Affairs wou'd rather be inſtrumental to the Propagation of *Lutheraniſm*

raniſm in the State, and by the Authority of that Book the People would take upon 'em to judge of Controverſies. That the Church and Religion were not liable to Examination, and that he had never approv'd of the Conference at *Upſal*. That it was far more Prudential to Excommunicate *Olaus* and his Followers, that the Biſhop of *Stregnez* his Superior ought to ſecure him, and bring him to his Trial, or elſe ſend him to *Rome*, and that ſuch Hereticks ought only to be confuted with Fire and Sword. 1526.

But all theſe Remonſtrances could not prevail with the Arch-biſhop to deny in ſome meaſure ſo juſt a Thing to the King, and to which he had oblig'd himſelf in the Conference at *Upſal*. Thus he perſiſted in his Deſign, unmov'd by the Arguments of the Biſhop of *Lincopinc*; who told him in the full Aſſembly, that he wou'd ruin the Religion by his immoderate Complaiſance for the Court.

The Regular and Secular Clergy divided the whole Work among 'em, to have it the ſooner finiſhed. The latter undertook the Tranſlation of the four Evangeliſts, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; the *Mendicant Friars*, St. *Peter*'s, St. *John*'s, St. *James*'s, and St. *Jude*'s Epiſtles; and the *Carthuſians* were appointed to tranſlate the *Apocalypſe*. *Pufendorf.*

Olaus, proud of his pretended Succeſs in the Conference at *Upſal*, printed an Account of it, and publiſh'd it to his Advantage. Soon after he publickly married, tho' a Prieſt, to confirm, by ſo inviting an Example, the Doctrine which he preach'd. Many of his Brethren followed his Example without the leaſt Reluctancy, and publickly aſſum'd the Name of *Lutherans*, as a Shelter againſt their Superiors, and a Support to their Marriages. Moſt of the Nobility got Miniſters to preach in their

1526. their Caſtles, ſome out of curioſity to hear their Eloquence, others to pleaſe the King, and perhaps in order to get thoſe Church-Lands they had an eye upon.

Guſtavus was extremely pleas'd to ſee ſo ſudden a change in Matters of Religion: And he, who never ſuffer'd his deſigns to appear, but according as *Lutheraniſm* got ground, thought he might now without danger ſeize upon part of the Church-Lands. In order to which he call'd the Senate to meet at *Stockholm*, upon intelligences he procur'd from time to time, and which he dexterouſly caus'd to be ſpread all over the Kingdom, that the Emperor himſelf was preparing to March with all the Forces of the Empire to reſtore King *Chriſtiern*.

No ſooner were the Senators arriv'd at *Stockholm*, but he deſir'd 'em to take all poſſible care to put the Kingdom in a State of Defence againſt the attempts of the Enemy. The Lords, who for the moſt part ow'd him their Fortunes and Dignities, gueſs'd preſently at his Intentions, and gave this anſwer ſuitable to his Deſigns. That the People were utterly exhauſted by the long Wars of *Sweden*, and that the Merchants of *Lubeck* and other *Hanſe-Towns* did abſolutely ruin the Kingdom by their extorted Privilege to drive alone the Trade of *Sweden*, and that without paying any Cuſtoms. That there was no way left to recruit his Treaſure but by opening all the Ports of this Kingdom to the Merchants of other Nations; but that the Town of *Lubeck* muſt be firſt paid, before thoſe Priviledges cou'd be cancell'd, which *Sweden* was forc'd to grant in lieu of Intereſt for the Mony and Troops that Regency had lent the Crown againſt the *Danes*. The Senate agreed both in the neceſſity of making that Payment, and at the ſame time in the preſent impoſſibility of doing it.

The

The King, under colour of eaſing the People, propos'd by his Chancellour to take for the ſubſiſtence of his Troops, the two Thirds of the Tithes belonging for the moſt part to Biſhops or Rich Abbots. And that cunning Stateſman did at the ſame time inſinuate, that the ſuperfluous Plate and Bells of Churches might be apply'd to pay the Regency of *Lubeck*; by which means its Priviledges might be at once aboliſh'd, which tended to the abſolute ruin both of the King and Kingdom. 1526.

The Power and Authority of *Guſtavus* were ſettl'd by this time upon ſo firm and ſolid a Foundation, that the Reſolves of the Senate were in a manner but a meer Formality. So that all the Senators, with great ſubmiſſion, approv'd of this Expedient, of which a ſolemn Decree was forthwith made; and Commiſſioners were appointed by the King, who ſeiz'd, all over the Kingdom, upon the Church-plate and Bells which they found to be ſuperfluous, and at the ſame time laid up in public Granaries the Tithes and all the Grains deſign'd for the Subſiſtence of his Troops.

This Order of the Senate ſtunn'd, like a Thunderbolt, both the Superior and Inferior Clergy. They ſaw that they had ſet a wiſe and mighty Prince upon the Throne who was reſolv'd to ruin their Authority, and was ſo much the more terrible becauſe of his Dexterity in concealing his Hatred and Deſigns under the ſpecious pretence of the public Good. The Archbiſhop of *Upſal* brought his Complaints to the King, and told him, that his Officers commited ſuch Depredations in all the Churches, as were ſcarce to be fear'd from the moſt outragious Hereticks or Fanaticks.

The King, having thus at laſt pull'd off the Mask, anſwer'd the Biſhop with an Air of Authority, that what had been ſeiz'd by his Order wou'd be better imploy'd for the Defence of the Realm, than for main-

1526. maintaining the Grandeur and Pride of the Clergy. After these Words he dismiss'd him, and would not give him a longer Audience.

The King's Answer, and the Violence of his Officers, did extreamly exasperate most of the zealous Catholicks of the Kingdom. The Clergy-men, but the Monks especially, exclaim'd against him with all the Extravagance of Spite and Fury, scattering scurrilous Libels among the People, in which they branded him with the odious Character of a Heretic, and of an excommunicated Prince: And even some of the hottest of 'em propos'd to make void his Election. The Mob, that were easily set on Fire by any Pretext of Religion, joyn'd with 'em in the Heat of their Resentment. The Peasants, among others, cou'd not endure to part with their Bells, and the Silver Crosses of their Churches, which often made the most essential Part of their Worship. These wild and savage People were the fittest Tools to carry on the Designs of the Priests, who perswaded 'em that these Innovations tended directly to the Subversion of Religion and Liberty. Some of 'em took up Arms, pursu'd the King's Officers, and having recover'd their Bells, brought 'em back to their Villages in a Kind of Triumph.

A great Fair was yearly held near *Upsal* about this Time of the Year, with an extraordinary Concourse of People from all the neighbouring Provinces. This was a Sort of Convention of the Estates for the Country-People, who discoursed here of their Trade, of the Affairs of each Province, but especially of the Differences that arose about the Preservation of their Rights and Priviledges. The Malecontents, glad of this Opportunity to stir up a Rebellion, did privately dispose the Chief of 'em to demand the Revocation of the last Decree of the Senate, as to the Tithes and Church-Bells.

The

The King had timely Notice of their Deſigns by the ſecret Intelligencers whom he kept every where. The Money he liberally diſtributed among 'em, made 'em pry into every Corner, and induſtriouſly pump out the greateſt Secrets. By theſe Spies he learnt, that the Country-people, animated by the Clergy, were reſolv'd to riſe up in Arms at *Upſal*-Fair, unleſs their Bells were ſpeedily reſtor'd. 1526.

To prevent the threatning Danger, *Guſtavus* went immediately to the Fair, at the Head of a Body of Horſe; and by his unexpected Arrival ſurpriz'd the Mutineers, and put 'em into a great Conſternation. He ſpoke to 'em with a certain Air of Greatneſs and Authority, like a Prince that has a Right to command, and will be obey'd. He ask'd 'em, with a fierce Look, who had entruſted 'em with the Care of the Government, by what Authority they cenſured the Decrees of the Senate, and whether they had forgotten that the Biſhops and the whole Clergy were greater Enemies to their Country than the very *Danes?* Then, to gain 'em by the moſt winning and convincing Argument, he told 'em, that by the late Decree of the Senate, concerning the Tithes, to which he gave his Aſſent, 'twas plain the Eaſe of the People was his principal Aim; that to pay the *Regency* of *Lubeck* in ſo preſſing a Juncture of Affairs, 'twas thought more reaſonable to fleece a rich Clergy, than to over-burden the People with new Taxes and Impoſitions. He hop'd, that this Diſcourſe wou'd have either frighten'd or wheedl'd 'em into a Compliance with his Deſires; but inſtead of that, the inſolent Multitude began to exclaim with a great Deal of Violence, that they wou'd never ſuffer their Religion to be alter'd, nor their Bells and Church-Plate to be taken from 'em. The King, incens'd at their Audaciouſneſs, commanded his Men to fire upon the Mutineers; who, obſerving the Poſture of his Horſe juſt going to give fire, fell upon their Knees, and

1526. and begg'd his Majesty's Pardon. The Ring-leaders of the Mutiny were secur'd while the rest hid themselves in the Crowd, or escap'd in the Dark. In short, they presently dispers'd, and retir'd with an awful Idea of a Prince who knew so well how to extort Obedience.

This mutinous Assembly was no sooner dispers'd by his Presence, but a new Plot was laid to Dethrone him. A certain Groom call'd *Hans*, of the Parish of *Biorchstrat* in the Province of *Westmannia*, form'd a Design infinitely above the meanness of his Condition. Aspiring to no less than a Crown, he personated the eldest Son of the deceased *Administrator*, tho' that young Prince died a Year before. He was perswaded by some disaffected People, that the *Swedes*, who were incens'd against *Gustavus* and weary of his Government, wou'd chuse rather to place him upon the Throne, than suffer any change in Religion.

The Impostor was a handsom and bold Person: He spoke with a great deal of Freedom and Ease, and had a nobler Air than was suitable to his Birth or Education. He travell'd over all the Province of *Dalecarlia*, under the Name of *Nils Steno*; never appear'd but in the remotest Places, and such as had the least relation to the Court; nor did he long reside in the same place. When he appear'd abroad, he was very Reserv'd and full of Precaution; insinuating that *Gustavus* cou'd not indure the sight of him because it check'd his Conscience and put him in mind of the Crown he had usurp'd, to the prejudice of the Family to which he ow'd his Fortune and Advancement. Therefore that violent Prince cou'd never look upon him but with Eyes full of Fury; that he had several times attempted to Kill him; and that the Princess, his Mother, fearing the worst, had advis'd him to retire.

Then

Then he ask'd the People in a very moving and pathetic manner, whether ſo inhuman and cruel a Treatment was a ſuitable Recompence for the Life his Father, the *Adminiſtrator*, had loſt in the Defence of their Country. At the Name of *Steno*, this Cheat always burſt forth into Tears. 1526.

Falling upon his Knees, he conjur'd the Peaſants to pray to God for the Soul of the Prince his Father, and to ſay each a *Pater noſter* in his behalf, while they were allow'd to believe a Purgatory. Then he exclaim'd againſt *Guſtavus*'s Government, calling him an Uſurper and an Heretic, that had renounc'd the Religion of his Anceſtors. And, whereas thoſe Peaſants were extremely jealous of their Cuſtoms, he charg'd him with Innovation for affecting a more ſtately Garb than his Predeceſſors, pretending that he deſign'd to alter the very Habit as well as the Religion of the Nation, and wou'd oblige all his Subjects to conſent to theſe unſufferable Changes.

'Tis thought, the Biſhop of *Lincopine* and the chief of the Clergy had a hand in this Conſpiracy, hoping by this means to raiſe ſuch a Commotion as might occaſion a Revolution in the Government. At leaſt 'tis certain, that that Biſhop, and thoſe of his Party, ſeem'd to believe that he was really the *Adminiſtrator*'s Son, to give the greater Credit to the Impoſtor, who by the ſecret Protection of the Clergy and other Malecontents, ſaw himſelf in a ſhort time follow'd by a Crowd of Peaſants and other indebted Perſons, whoſe deſperate Condition made 'em ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of a Change.

Guſtavus knew not whether to march againſt him, or neglect ſo groundleſs a Rumor; he was irreſolute for ſome time, and waver'd 'twixt Hope and Fear; for tho' he was ſenſible of the Danger of ſlighting the feebleſt Enemy, he was afraid leſt by ſhewing too viſible a Concern on this occaſion he ſhou'd ſtrengthen

1526. gthen the Party of the Impoſtor. At laſt he reſolv'd to deſire the *Adminiſtrator*'s Widow to write to the *Dalecarlians*; and that Princeſs, in obedience to his Requeſt, aſſur'd 'em by a Letter, that her Son died above a Year ago; that all the Inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who aſſiſted at his Funeral, were Witneſſes of his Death; and that ſhe had but one young Child living, of whoſe Education the King took as much Care as if he were his own Son.

This Letter had all the Succeſs *Guſtavus* cou'd expect; and the undeceiv'd Peaſants forſook their fictitious Prince, who, fearing that they would deliver him up to the King, fled to *Norway*; where he found a new Protection, upon the Recommendation of the Biſhops of *Sweden* to the Arch-biſhop of *Dronthem*, by whom he was receiv'd and entertain'd as Prince of *Sweden*. By this Prelate's Intereſt the Impoſtor rais'd new Troops in that Kingdom, and by his own Inſinuations he perſwaded a Lady of the higheſt Quality there, that the Crown of *Sweden* did rightly belong to him, and promis'd he wou'd one Day raiſe her Daughter to the Dignity of a Queen. The Lady, dazel'd with the Proſpect of a Crown, made her Tenants take up Arms in Defence of his Right, furniſh'd him with great Sums of Money to begin the War, and preſented him with a Gold Chain of conſiderable Weight, as the Pledge of the Alliance ſhe would contract with him.

The King, upon Advice that the Impoſtor was preparing to return to *Sweden*, order'd a Body of Horſe to prevent him. At the ſame time he writ to *Frederic* King of *Denmark*, complaining of the Protection he gave, in his Dominions, to a notorious Cheat, proteſting he wou'd ſeek him out at the Head of his Army in the furtheſt Parts of *Norway*, if he were not ſpeedily expell'd out of that Kingdom.

That

That wiſe and politick Prince cou'd not, without a ſecret Jealouſie, look upon the Union of the *Swedes*, and the Proſperity of *Guſtavus*'s Reign, and wou'd have been glad to ſee *Sweden* imbroil'd in Civil Wars by the Counterfeit *Steno*. But fearing a Storm from *Sweden*, when he expected every Moment a Deſcent from *Chriſtiern*, he ſent Orders to *Hans* to depart immediately out of his Dominions; and that unhappy Wretch fled from *Norway* to *Roſtock*, a Free and Imperial City in *Mecklemburg* upon the *Baltick*. *Guſtavus* having receiv'd Advice of his Retreat, ſent to the Magiſtrates of that City requiring 'em to deliver up the Impoſtor, and threaten'd to ſtop all their Ships that ſhould be found in his Ports, if they would not comply with ſo juſt a Deſire. The Magiſtrates of *Roſtock*, having no reaſon to protect ſuch an abandon'd Wretch, cauſed him to be Beheaded; by which Execution they put an End to *Guſtavus*'s Fears, and baffled all the Hopes of his diſaffected Subjects. 1526.

Tho' the Clergy had not publickly appear'd in this Revolt, yet the King was fully convinc'd that they would have infallibly declar'd for the Impoſtor, if his Attempt had been attended with Succeſs. He knew them to be his moſt dangerous Enemies, and that nothing but the Fear of his Power kept them from open Rebellion. The Biſhops influenc'd the Curates and inferiour Clergy to keep the People ſteady in their ancient Religion, being ſenſible they muſt loſe the beſt Part of their Revenues, aſſoon as *Lutheraniſm* ſhould be eſtabliſh'd. Such powerful Motives as Religion and Self-Intereſt, put the whole Body of the Clergy into a Ferment, and made them turn every Stone. The Monks, but eſpecially thoſe call'd *Mendicant* Friars, run through all the Provinces, under Pretext of begging Bread for their Subſiſtence, but in Effect to foment the Diſcontents of the People. They made ſure of their Friends,

1526. influenc'd their Devotoes, form'd Cabals in all the Villages, and ſpoke ſo diſreſpectfully of their Prince, as if their affected Zeal for the Defence of the Catholick Faith, cou'd have juſtify'd the Spirit of Rebellion.

The King, being under ſome Apprehenſion that the Clergy and thoſe Monks might at laſt occaſion ſome dangerous Revolt, reſolv'd to gain the Biſhops, and eſpecially the Heads and Superiors of the Religious Houſes, and to remove ſuch as wou'd not comply with his Deſigns. Moſt of the Superiors of the *Mendicant* Friars were *Germans* and Foreigners, all Doctors in the chief Univerſities of *Germany*, who were ſent by their Generals to viſit and govern the *Swediſh* Monaſteries. The King iſſued out a Declaration, forbidding thoſe Foreigners to meddle with the Government of the Monks his natural Subjects, under Pretence that being Subjects of the Emperor and other Princes who were Enemies to the Nation, they incited not only the Monks, but even the common People, to rebellious Practices. So that they were oblig'd immediately to leave the Kingdom, and the King took care to ſubſtitute in their Places ſuch Monks as were entirely devoted to the Court. This Declaration was followed by another, to prohibit the Viſits and too frequent Journies of the Monks. By this Edict they were not allow'd to go above twice a Year out of their Monaſteries, and to ſtay but a Fortnight each time, to receive the Bounty and Alms of the People. This done, the King apply'd himſelf to the Biſhops of *Stregnez* and *Weſteras*, who were his Creatures, and aſſur'd 'em, that in all theſe Proceedings he had no other Aim, than to ſee the Word of God obſerv'd in his Kingdom, and to baniſh all Superſtitions that a worldly Intereſt had introduc'd into religious Worſhip. He deſir'd 'em chearfully to ſurrender the Fortreſſes that were in their Hands, promis'd to make 'em ſuitable and advantageous

vantageous Returns, and to advance their Families to the principal and higheſt Dignities in the Kingdom. Upon which Declarations of his Affection, and the Confidence he plac'd in 'em, they told him they ſhould always be ready to ſubmit to his Will without enquiring into the Reaſon of his Orders; imagining that their Complaiſance could not be reputed Criminal, ſo long as they did not openly profeſs thoſe Doctrines which they look'd upon as erroneous, eſpecially ſince they could not oppoſe the King's Deſigns, without expoſing themſelves to his Indignation. But the Archbiſhop of *Upſal* reſiſted the Temptation, with a Reſolution that could neither be ſhaken by Promiſes or Threats. His Temporalities were ſeiz'd, his Family perſecuted, and his Perſon for ſome time confined to a Convent at *Stockholm*, under Pretence that he had a hand in the Impoſtor's Rebellion. In a word, none of thoſe indirect Perſecutions were omitted to which Princes uſually have Recourſe when they would reclaim obſtinate Subjects, that will not be reduc'd by gentler Methods. He anſwer'd thoſe who urged him to yield to the King's Will, that he was advanc'd to his Dignity without making the leaſt Intereſt for it; that King *Guſtavus* himſelf recommended him of his own Accord, made an Intereſt for his Choice, and he could not imagine that Prince ſhou'd expect from him, by Way of Acknowledgment, that he ſhould ſo baſely betray his Dignity and Miniſtry. The King, finding him Inflexible, found out an honourable Way to get rid of him, by conferring upon him the Character of Embaſſador. He was order'd forthwith to ſet out for *Poland*, and the King ſent him Word, that he ſhould receive his Diſpatches at *Dantzic*. The Archbiſhop apprehended preſently the Drift of this Commiſſion, and lookt upon his Embaſſy as little better than a Baniſhment. However, he obey'd the King's Orders with a great Deal of Sub- 1526.

1527. miſſion, and went for *Dantzic*, with his Brother *Olaus Magnus*. Where having waited ſome time (but in vain) for his Diſpatches and his Majeſty's Orders, and hearing that *Lutheraniſm* got ground every Day in *Sweden*, he went to *Rome* to implore the Pope's Aſiſtance, and inform his Holineſs of the Danger that threatned the Catholick Religion in *Sweden*, under ſo politick and ſo mighty a Prince.

Clement VII. But the Pope was in ſo bad Circumſtances, that he could not take much Notice of the Affairs of *Sweden*. His extraordinary Ambition to advance and aggrandize his Family, made him enter the Year before into a League with *Francis* I. King of *France*, and the States of *Venice*, *Florence* and *Switzerland*, againſt the Emperor *Charles* V. The Deſign of the Confederacy was to procure the Liberty of the Children of *France* who were then Hoſtages in *Spain*, to recover the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Holy See, to maintain *Sforza* in the Dukedom of *Milan*, and to defend the Liberty of *Italy*; in a word, to oppoſe the Power of the Emperor, who was grown formidable ever ſince the Battel of *Pavia*.

That Prince was ſo incens'd againſt the Pope, whom he lookt upon as the Author of the League, that he rais'd a bloody War againſt him. But the War it ſelf was not ſo grievous to the Pope, as the Emperor's Exhortation to the Cardinals to ſummon a lawful Council for the Good of the Church, which wanted to be Reformed (as the Emperor was pleas'd to expreſs it) both in her Head and Members. *Clement* was extreamly averſe to a Council, which he dreaded would not only regulate the Papal Power, but enter upon ſome Enquiry that might be prejudicial to his Perſon and Dignity. He was always reputed the natural Son of *Julian de Medicis*, till Pope *Leo* X. being of the ſame Family declar'd him Legitimate, upon the Information of his Mother's Bro-

Brother, and of certain Monks who depoſed that there was a Promiſe of Marriage, tho' ſuch an Evidence was ſomewhat ſuſpicious in ſo nice an Affair. There was indeed no poſitive Law to exclude Baſtards from the Pontificate; but 'twas the common Opinion, that ſo eminent and holy a Dignity was inconſiſtent with ſo great a Blemiſh. The Pope therefore might juſtly fear, that the Emperor would inſiſt upon it in a Council, and by his Authority colour it with a Pretext of Juſtice and Religion. 1527.

Beſides, he knew that the Emperor had a Note in his Hands, which he had given to Cardinal *Colonna* in the Conclave, to purchaſe his Vote. Thus he ſaw himſelf in danger of being depos'd, as was *Balthazar Coſſa*, known during his Pontificate by the Name of *John* XXIII. and the rather, becauſe Pope *Julius* II. had iſſued out a ſtrict Bull, annulling and making void all Simonaical Elections, and putting it out of the Power of the Cardinals, by a poſterior Conſent to make 'em valid.

But *Charles* V. did not ſo much aim at his Perſon, as the Principalities annex'd to his Dignity. His Eagerneſs for a Council was only to get an Opportunity to raiſe him new Enemies, and to make him depend upon his Pleaſure. He would fain have had the Command of the Pope's Territories, which lay ſo convenient for him in that Juncture of War for the Communication of the *Milaneſe* with the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the late League the Pope had made with his Enemies afforded him a plauſible Pretence to ſeize on 'em.

He gave Orders to his Army to march into the Pope's Territories. His Troops beſieg'd, and took *Rome* by Storm, where they committed ſuch Barbarities as cou'd not be expected from Infidels. Both the Maſſacre and Plunder laſted ſeveral Days, the Virgins were raviſh'd in their Mothers Arms, and

1527. at the Foot of the very Altars, the Monuments of the Apoſtles and the Relics of the Saints were prophan'd by the Avarice and Inſolence of the Soldiers; the Cardinals and Prelates of the Court of *Rome* were thrown into diſmal Dungeons, where they were perpetually alarm'd with the Fear of an ignominious Death, to make 'em deliver up the Treaſures of the Church. The Pope himſelf was ſeiz'd and impriſon'd in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, by the Emperor's Officers. And that Prince, who affected the religious Title of *Catholic*, deſign'd to ſend him to *Spain*, as he had done *Francis* I. that he might almoſt at the ſame Time triumph over the two greateſt Powers of *Europe*, one Spiritual, and the other Temporal.

Guſtavus heard with a ſecret Joy the News of this War betwixt the Pope and the Emperor, but eſpecially of the amazing Succeſs of the laſt. He therefore reſolv'd to follow his Example, and to make uſe of this Juncture to give the fatal Blow to the Dignity of the Biſhops of his Realm. His Power was ſo great, that he feared no Rebellion; having a conſiderable Number of Troops on Foot, which made him formidable to his Enemies at home and abroad. Moſt of his Officers were Foreigners or *Lutherans*, all equally devoted both to his Perſon and Fortune; the Senators were all his Creatures; and the *Danes* his Allies.

Thus whilſt all *Europe* dreaded his Power or admir'd his Greatneſs, he form'd a Deſign to take from the Biſhops all the ſtrong Holds that were under their Juriſdiction, and at the ſame Time to make an exact Enquiry into all the Purchaſes or Uſurpations of both the Regular and Secular Clergy, ſince the Prohibition of King *Canutſon*. But above all he reſolv'd to get all his Declarations, and the Decree made in the Senate relating to the Tithes, confirm'd by the Eſtates of the Kingdom.

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In purſuance of this Reſolution he call'd a Meeting of the Eſtates at *Weſteras*, and made uſe of his Authority in all the Provinces to influence the Election of ſuch Deputies as might ſerve his turn. He ſent ſecret Orders to a certain number of his Officers of War to be preſent at the Elections, under colour of ſoliciting for the Payment of the Troops. He himſelf follow'd 'em ſoon after, attended by all the Senators, and follow'd by a Crowd of Courtiers, who ſhew'd his Greatneſs, and ſerved at the ſame time to maintain it. 1527.

He began to diſcover his Intention in the ordering of a Treat which he gave the Biſhops, Senators, Deputies of Provinces, and all the Members of the Eſtates. The Officers of his Houſhold alter'd the uſual order of the Seats at Table: The chief Places were given to the Temporal Senators, to the prejudice of the Biſhops, who claim'd that Honour by Preſcription. And the ſame Precedency was given to the Gentry, who were plac'd above the Deputies of the inferior Clergy. By which alteration the King deſign'd to create a Difference betwixt the Biſhops and the Senators, and to make the Gentry approve his Intentions to humble the Clergy.

Aſſoon as the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtical Deputies roſe from Table, they retir'd in great diſcontent from the Hall, and even out of the Caſtle, and went to St. *Giles*'s Church, were they ſhut themſelves in. Being alone, and (as they thought) ſafe, they ask'd one another what might be the Reaſon of the publick Injury and Affront which the King had put upon 'em. The Biſhop of *Lincopinc* preſiding in the Aſſembly as being the firſt Suffragan to the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, made a Speech to this effect, That they knew by their own experience, that the King never did any publick Action, without ſome private Deſign; That this alteration to the prejudice of their Order, was but a

1527. forerunner of greater Perſecutions; That the King's Declarations, the Decrees of the Senate, the Attempts of his Majeſty's Officers, his Power and his Armies, were ſo many Prognoſticks of the Loſs of their Liberty, and the beſt Part of their Revenues; That under the ſpecious Title of Defender of the Country, he aſſum'd an abſolute Authority, above the Reach of the Laws; That he was reſolved to ſeize upon their Caſtles and Fortreſſes, and afterwards deprive 'em of that Share in the Government which they had ſo long injoy'd; and that Religion it ſelf would be in great danger, if they did not reſolve vigorouſly to oppoſe the *Lutherans*.

Sommer. The Biſhop of *Stregnez*, who was gain'd by the Court, reply'd, that they could not indeed be too watchful for the Defence of their Religion; but withal he inſinuated that they ought not by an unſeaſonable Zeal to provoke a Potent Prince, who in all other Reſpects deſerv'd ſo well of the Nation. He added, that in his Opinion the Clergy ſhould contribute Part of their Revenues towards the Defence of the Kingdom; and declar'd his Readineſs to put his Caſtle into the King's Hands, who was better able to defend it againſt the Enemies of the State than a Clergy-Man.

The Biſhop of *Lincopinc* could not hear that Prelate's Diſcourſe without Indignation. He ask'd him in an angry Tone, whether he thought he could as lawfully diſpoſe of his Church-Lands as of his Patrimony, and that in Behalf of a Heretick Prince, or one at leaſt who countenanced Hereſie. He tax'd him, that he ſpoke more like a Stateſman and a Courtier, than a true Biſhop, and, to ſoften thoſe hard and offenſive Expreſſions, he conjur'd him with all Earneſtneſs to ſtick to the Intereſts of his Brethren, and to act unanimouſly with them for the Defence of their Rights and Dignities. He ex-

1527.

exhorted the whole Aſſembly to follow their Arch-Biſhop's ſteps, who had generouſly withſtood both the Careſſes and Threats of the Court; telling them, that upon all ſuch Occaſions they were oblig'd to remember the Oath they had taken at their Conſecration, to venture their Lives in the Defence of Religion and the Rights and Priviledges of their Churches. In a word, he omitted nothing that cou'd revive in their minds a true Epiſcopal Zeal, or convince them that the ſevereſt puniſhment that cou'd be inflicted on 'em for an Apoſtolical conſtancy or ſtedfaſtneſs would be far more glorious to 'em than all the favour of the Court.

This Diſcourſe being pronounc'd with a great deal of heat, drew in the three other Biſhops, and all the other Eccleſiaſticks that Compos'd the Aſſembly; ſo that it was reſolv'd, they were oblig'd to maintain to the utmoſt of their power the Revenues and Rights of the *Swediſh* Church againſt all Oppoſers. The Biſhops of *Stregnez* and *Weſteras*, as great Courtiers as they were, durſt not oppoſe ſo generous a motion; or perhaps were not ſorry to ſee their Brethren undertake, at their Perils, to Defend their Dignities. In ſhort, theſe Six Biſhops took a Solemn Oath to Defend with vigor the Rights and Priviledges of the Church againſt all the Attempts of the King. They made an Act to which they ſubſcrib'd, and which they caus'd to be ſign'd by all the reſt of the Clergy who were preſent; then they hid it in a Tomb in the Church, leſt it ſhould fall into the King's hands.

The Biſhop of *Lincopinc* endeavour'd alſo to procure the favour of ſome powerful Lay-Patrons: He privately made ſure of *Tureiohanſon* the great Marſhal, whoſe Birth and Dignity gave him the next rank to the King; but theſe advantages were obſcur'd by the defect of his Merit and by his Pride. He talk'd

1526. talk'd perpetually of his Pedegree; and tho' he had neither Valour nor Courage, he fanſi'd that his Birth and Quality entitl'd him to the eſteem of all Mankind. The Biſhop begg'd his Protection for the Clergy and that was ground enough to obtain it. The Marſhal was ſo over joy'd to ſee himſelf courted by ſo conſiderable a Party, that he made a Solemn Promiſe, to maintain and ſupport the ancient Religion and its Miniſters. Beſides him, that Prelate gain'd ſome Lords of *Weſt-Gothland*, and ſeveral Deputies of the Peaſants, who combin'd together to oppoſe all the Attempts of the *Lutherans*.

The next day the Eſtates met, and the Chancellour open'd the Seſſions with a pathetic Speech, upon the Exigences of the State. He told them from the King, that there was no Fund ſettl'd for the Payment of the Forces; that moſt of the Frontier places wanted to be Fortifi'd; that the Arſenals were unfurniſh'd, and that there were few Ships in the Ports. He forgot not to Alarm 'em with an account of King *Chriſtiern*'s Preparations. He put 'em in mind of all the Cruelties which that Prince committed in the Kingdom, repreſenting in the moſt diſmal colours, the miſerable Condition of that Kingdom under his Government. Beſides the Maſſacre of the Senate, he preſented 'em with a frightful Catalogue of all the Robberies, Plunders, Aſſaſſinates, Burnings, Rapes, and other Enormous Barbarities that were Authoriz'd by a Prince who never gave himſelf the trouble to ſeek for any pretext to excuſe or cover his Crimes. A dreadful Time, when the Kingdom was become a Prey to Implacable Enemies, or to Treacherous and Rebellious Natives, more cruel than they, whoſe Credit and Rewards were more Intolerable, than their very Treaſons and Villanies. He told 'em that when the Nation was in theſe deplorable

rable and hopeleſs circumſtances, the King alone formed a generous deſign to deliver his Native Country. In order to which he had expos'd himſelf to the greateſt Dangers; and, as he had not ſpar'd his Life for their defence, ſo 'twas well known he had Mortgag'd all his Eſtate to carry on the War againſt the *Danes*. That by his Valour and Conduct, the *Swedes* had at laſt Triumph'd over their Enemies; but that the ſame cruel Enemies were preparing for a new Invaſion with all the Forces of the Emperour, if ſpeedy care were not taken to oppoſe 'em. To which he added, that the Revenues of the Crown were ſo diminiſh'd by the Uſurpations of the Clergy, that they were ſcarce ſufficient to anſwer the Charge of the Civil Liſt. That the Nobility and Gentry were alſo ruin'd by the imprudent Bounty of their Anceſtors. That it was plain, the Church of *Sweden* alone had the command of more Wealth, than the King, and all the other Eſtates of the Realm together. That the Biſhops had always made Religion ſubſervient to their Intereſt, and the Eſtabliſhing of their Authority; and by indirect means had made themſelves Maſters of the beſt Mannours and Principal Fortreſſes. That theſe Prelates, growing by degrees Richer and more Potent than their Sovereign, had frequently revolted againſt their Princes. That their Ambition had occaſion'd all the Civil and Foreign Wars, with which the Kingdom had been harraſs'd for near the ſpace of 120 Years. That they had ſeveral times call'd in the Enemies, and receiv'd 'em into their Forts, ſticking at no Treachery to compaſs their wicked Deſigns. 1527.

That the Senate, ſenſible of the preſent Exigencies, and knowing how prejudicial the exceſſive Power and Wealth of the Biſhops was to the Peace of *Sweden*, had wiſely ordain'd, that two Thirds of

1527. of the Tithes ſhou'd be apply'd to the Maintenance and Subſiſtence of the Army. That the King deſir'd that his late Declarations, and the Senate's Decree, which aimed at nothing but the eaſe of the People, ſhou'd be confirm'd by the Eſtates. That both the Regular and Secular Clergy ſhould forthwith reſtore to the Crown, to the Nobility, and to all private Perſons, the Lands and Eſtates which they pretended had been bequeath'd to 'em ſince the Reign and Prohibition of King *Canutſon*. That they ſhou'd be oblig'd to contribute, as well as the Laity to the ſupport of the Army, proportionably to their ancient Eſtates and Acquiſitions: That the Biſhops ſhou'd not hereafter inherit the Eſtates of the inferiour Clergy, by which means the beſt Families of the Kingdom inſenſibly decay'd and came to ruin. That thoſe Prelates ſhou'd renounce their pretended Right and Penalties and Forfeitures. That they ſhou'd forthwith put the King in poſſeſſion of their Forts, which had often ſerv'd for a ſhelter to Seditious and Rebellious Perſons. And Laſtly, that they ſhou'd be for ever excluded from the Senate, or any ſhare in the Government.

1452.

No ſooner had the Chancellor ended his Speech, but the Biſhop of *Lincopinc* ſtood up to oppoſe him, and ſpoke to this effect. That it was no wonder to hear of that bold Propoſal, to take away the Church-Lands from the Clergy, while the *Lutherans* were countenanced in their endeavours to extirpate the true Religion. He declared to the Eſtates, that he and the whole Clergy were reſolv'd to defend the Catholick Faith, never to part with any Church-Lands, or yield up any of their Rights or Priviledges, without an expreſs Order from the Pope, whom they own'd as the Supreme Diſpoſer of the Church Revenues, as he was the Infallible Judge in Matters of Religion

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The King, amaz'd at the boldneſs of that Prelate, turn'd towards the Senators and the Nobility, as it were to ingage ſome of 'em to make a ſutable reply. Immediately *Tureiohanſon* ſtood up; who, far from ſiding with the King, told him with a great deal of confidence, that the Biſhop of *Lincopinc* cou'd not be too much commended for his Zeal, and that he wiſh'd all the *Swedes* were inſpir'd with ſo noble a reſolution to defend the Catholick Faith and the Liberty of the Nation: He was applauded by the Biſhops and the whole Clergy, and their Acclamations were ſeconded by many Deputies of *Weſt-Gothland*, who bewail'd in ſecret the decaying State of the Ancient Religion, but durſt not freely ſpeak their mind for fear of the King's diſpleaſure. 1527.

Tureiohanſon's diſcourſe, and the Applauſe it met with among thoſe of his party, did both ſurpriſe the King, and ſtir up his Paſſion: He complain'd of their ingratitude and want of reſpect, and told them that the *Swedes* cou'd neither live without Kings, nor endure 'em after they were choſen; that he was ſenſible, his Declarations againſt the Clergy, and the Senate's Decree concerning Tithes, had procur'd him more Enemies in the Kingdom, than he had among the Neighbouring Nations, who envi'd the Happineſs of *Sweden*; that he knew, there were many in that Aſſembly, who (according to the *Swediſh* Proverb) wiſhed the Head of an Ax ſtruck deep into his Head, tho' none were ſo bold as to take up the handle; and that they were groſsly miſtaken, if they thought he mounted the Throne, as an Actor comes upon a Stage, only to perſonate a King: He declar'd withal, that he expected obedience, and that in the preſent juncture of Affairs it was requiſite he ſhou'd uſe an abſolute Power, to reſiſt the Deſigns and Attempts both of the Emperor and King *Chriſtiern*.

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1527. But if they thought he cou'd not juſtly require Obedience and Submiſſion, he proteſted that he was ready to reſign the Crown. That he only demanded a re-imburſement for the Charge he had been at for the defence of the State, ſince he undertook the Government; that afterwards he wou'd let them peaceably injoy the Fruit of his Victories, and ſolemnly promiſe to leave the Kingdom for ever. At theſe words Grief and Anger drew ſome Tears from his Eyes, and without expecting an Anſwer he ſuddenly left the Aſſembly, and went into the Caſtle, follow'd by the Principal Officers of his Army; who urg'd him, to aſſume an abſolute Power, and offer'd to execute his Orders without the conſent of the Eſtates.

The Chancellor ſtaid, to hinder the Eſtates from taking any Reſolutions contrary to the King's Intereſt, in his Abſence. But nothing was concluded that Day. The Temporal Senators and principal Lords, alarmed at the angry Retreat of *Guſtavus*, roſe up immediately, as if they had been afraid to be ſeen in the Company of the King's Adverſaries. On the other Hand the Biſhops and the whole Clergy, moſt of the Lords of *Weſt-Gothland*, and all the Rabble of *Weſteras* conducted *Tureiohanſon* home as it were in Triumph.

That haughty Lord was ſo puff'd up with their Applauſes, that he cou'd not conceal his Joy to ſee himſelf at the Head of a Party which he lookt upon as formidable to the King. He fancy'd that he ſhould Govern the Eſtates, and by his Authority influence all their Reſolutions. He enter'd his Houſe with the ſound of Trumpets and Kettle Drums, elevated with his preſent Succeſs, without conſidering, that the Favour of the People is uſually ſhort-liv'd, and that 'tis extreamly hard for a great Man to come off with Honour when the Prince's Authority ſeems to be ſlighted or diſregarded.

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The Eſtates met again the next Day, which was ſpent wholly in Conteſts on both ſides. *Olaus Petri* made a new Challenge to Dr. *Gallus*, but it came to nothing; becauſe *Gallus* wou'd argue in *Latin*, and in a Scholaſtic manner, and *Olaus* reſolv'd to diſpute in the *Swediſh* Tongue. The Aſſembly was divided into two Parties; one that ſtood up for the Preſervation of the Rights and Privileges of the Church, as the greateſt Bulwark of the ancient Religion; and the other, conſidering *Luther*'s Doctrin as a problematical and indifferent Opinion, till the Church ſhou'd decide the Controverſy in a general Council, were for an intire ſubmiſſion to the King's Will. 1527.

The Chancellor omitted nothing to make the chief Deputies ſenſible, that Kingdoms ought not to be Rul'd by the Maxims of Prieſts and Monks, who have a ſeperate Intereſt from that of the State, owning a Foreign Prince, the Pope, for their Sovereign. That the Safety of the State, upon all Occaſions and in all Emergencies, ought to be the prime and over-ruling Law; and all other humane Conſtitutions being made only for the Preſervation of Civil Society, the Prince and ſupream Magiſtrate ought to be veſted with a Power to alter 'em, according to the Exigencies and Temper of every Nation. That the greateſt part of the Eccleſiaſticks and Monks had ſeiz'd on the whole Wealth of the Kingdom, under different Pretences of Devotion. That the Biſhops, by the Claim they aſſum'd of being the ſole Heirs of the Prieſts, ruin'd daily ſome of the beſt Families; and by that Title, as well as their pretended Right to Penalties and Confiſcations, incroach'd inſenſibly upon all the Eſtates; that they ſecur'd their unjuſt Acquiſitions from all Attempts of Recovery, under the Name of Church Lands; terrifying with the Bug-bear of Excommunication, all that ſhou'd offer juſt Complaints againſt their Oppreſſion, and brand-

1527. branding with Hereſie any Opinion condemned by the Pope as Heretical, tho' they deem'd him no otherwiſe infallible, than ſo far as his Infallibility conſiſted with their Intereſts.

By ſuch Diſcourſes, and other ſecret Ways, the Chancellor brought over moſt of the Deputies to the King's Party; and gain'd many of the Clergy themſelves to yield to his Arguments, under Pretext that Religion was not the Thing aimed at, but meerly a Temporal Concern; beſides, that they were over-aw'd by the Power and the Anger of the King, and terrify'd with this Notion, That too obſtinate a Reſiſtance was next to down-right Treaſon and Rebellion.

The King had already made ſure of the beſt Part of the Aſſembly, when *Tureiohanſon*, flattering himſelf with the imaginary Strength of his Party, talkt of nothing but burning the Hereticks, and urg'd the Eſtates, with a great Deal of Earneſtneſs, to make a Law to declare *Lutherans* incapable of poſſeſſing the Crown, with a ſecret Deſign to exclude the King, and that he might have a ſufficient Ground to oppoſe the Solemnity of his Coronation. This Point was debated with a great Deal of Heat in the Aſſembly, every one ſpeaking according to his Intereſt or Inclination; when the Biſhop of *Stregnez*, who had been ſecretly gain'd by the Court, deſir'd Leave to ſpeak.

Loc. l. 6. p. 270. As ſoon as that Prelate had obtain'd Liberty to be heard, he told the Eſtates, That he was ſurpriz'd to ſee Men in that Aſſembly who had the Confidence to ſpeak ſo publickly of the King's Abdication, almoſt within his Hearing, or at leaſt under the Canon of his Caſtle. That Matters of ſuch vaſt Importance were not to be decided by Caballing, or Plurality of Voices. That there were many in that Aſſembly who could ſignalize their Courage againſt his as in a Field of Battel, and yet perhaps could hardly

hardly bear the very Looks and Preſence of their King, if he ſhould appear in Arms. He ask'd 'em what Forces they had to oppoſe a Prince who had the ſole Command of all the Troops? And, in caſe he were willing to Abdicate, whether they had a ſufficient Fund to repay him the vaſt Charge he had been at for the Defence of the State? 1527.

He added, That 'twas not an eaſy matter to reckon with a great Captain at the Head of a conſiderable Army, who might as long as he pleas'd retain the Sovereign Power, for a Pledge of Payment. That they were groſly miſtaken if they thought that *Sweden* under another Prince, or another Form of Government, was able to make a long Reſiſtance againſt ſo many Enemies with which the Kingdom was ſurrounded. That all intelligent Perſons were ſenſible, that the Power and Strength of the Kingdom lay more in the King's Perſon than Dignity; that his Majeſty cou'd never make a Step to quit the Throne, but what wou'd make way for the Kings of *Denmark*, *Chriſtiern* or *Frederick* to aſcend it; and that 'twas only his Courage and Valor that kept all the Enemies of the Nation in awe.

The ſame Prelate added, That tho' the King did not appear a Friend to the Clergy, yet the prevailing Power of Truth, and the cordial Affection he bore to the State oblig'd him to own, that the Safety of the Kingdom depended entirely upon his Royal Perſon. That he acknowledg'd the *Great Marſhal's* Zeal was to be commended, by which he had laid eternal Obligations upon both the Regular and Secular Clergy; but that a violent and unlimited Zeal had often occaſion'd great Miſchiefs. That for his part he thought it more expedient for 'em to quit ſome Rights, and to give up ſome of their Priviledges, at a Time when their Compliance was ſo neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Kingdom, than by too great a Stiffneſs and Self-intereſtedneſs to

1527. exaſperate a Prince who was equally powerful and neceſſary. That however it was unreaſonable to ſuſpect that the King had chang'd his Religion, meerly becauſe he would not burn all thoſe who ſaid their Prayers in their Mother Tongue. That the King had often declar'd, he was reſolv'd to perſiſt in the Religion of his Anceſtors. That, after all, they could not but own, that the Monks had, under the Pretence of Devotion, introduc'd into the Church many Superſtitions, which utterly defac'd the Chriſtian Religion. That the King, with the Help of the ableſt Men of the Kingdom, might correct thoſe Abuſes, without giving any Occaſion to accuſe or ſuſpect him of a Deſign to incroach upon Religion, and that he might ſhake off the Yoak of the Court of *Rome*, without ſeparating from the Communion of the *Roman* Church.

This Prelate's Diſcourſe made the greater Impreſſion upon the Eſtates, becauſe 'twas not expected from one of his Character. The Biſhops and the whole Clergy were full of Rage and Indignation, but he receiv'd a loud and general Applauſe from almoſt all the reſt of the Aſſembly. In ſhort, his Diſcourſe ſeem'd at once to have diſpers'd all thoſe Inchantments, which had made 'em ſo long oppoſe the King's Deſigns. They lookt upon his Abſence both as their Fault and Misfortune. Their Heat againſt their Prince was chang'd to an Emulation among 'em to give him what Satisfaction he demanded, that they might have the Happineſs to ſee him ſooner at the Head of the Aſſembly. Immediately they made a Declaration ſuitable to his Intentions, notwithſtanding the clamorous Oppoſition of the Clergy; and Notice was given to the *Great Marſhal* that it was not ſafe for him to make ſo great a Noiſe in the Aſſembly. The Deputies of the Commonalty, believing that the Conteſt was meerly about Temporal Affairs, made high Proteſtations, that

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that they would cut in pieces the firſt Man who ſhould offer to oppoſe the King's Will. And theſe Menaces ſtruck ſuch a Terror in the Minds of *Tureiohanſon* and the Lords of *Weſt-Gothland*, that they were forc'd to be ſilent and withdraw. 1527.

At laſt it was ſolemnly Enacted by the Eſtates, That the Biſhops ſhould immediately put their Forts into the Hands of the King's Officers, and disband their Troops and Garriſons. That thoſe Prelates ſhould not any more be admitted into the Senate, as being a hinderance to the Diſcharge of their Miniſterial Functions. That it ſhould not be in their Power to deprive the lawful Heirs of Eccleſiaſticks, of their Right of Inheritance; nor ſhould thereafter convert to their own Uſes the Penalties and Forfeitures, which properly belong'd to the Crown. That all ſuperfluous Church-plate and uſeleſs Bells ſhould be apply'd to pay the Regency of *Lubeck*. That all Church-Lands that had accru'd to the Clergy, by Foundations made ſince the Prohibition of K. *Canutſon*, ſhould be re-united to the Crown. That the Nobility and Gentry might recover their Eſtates mortgag'd to the Church, by paying off the Mortgage. That the two Thirds of the Tithes, injoy'd by moſt Biſhops and Abbots, ſhould be ſequeſter'd for the Subſiſtence of the Troops, ſo long as there ſhould be any Ground to apprehend a War in the Kingdom; and that in Time of Peace they ſhould be apply'd to the Erecting and Indowing of publick Schools and Hoſpitals in all the Provinces. That thoſe among the Clergy ſhould be ſeverely puniſh'd, who ſhould offer to excommunicate any one for a meerly Temporal Concern. That the Magiſtrates ſhould reſtrain the *Mendicant* Friars from their uſual Rambles, and the King ſhould diſpoſe, at his Pleaſure, of all the Priviledges of the Clergy. Laſtly, by the Chancellor's cunning Inſinuation, it was order'd, That all conſiderable Churches ſhould be pro-

1527. vided with learned and godly Men, that ſhould expound to the People the pure Word of God; which in the Language of thoſe Times ſignify'd, that *Lutheraniſm* ſhould be preach'd with Authority.

No ſooner was this Act put into form, but all the Deputies ſign'd it; and even the Biſhops, who were not well united among themſelves. Some of 'em were gain'd by the Court, and others out of fear were forc'd to ſubſcribe; tho' they plainly ſaw that they ſign'd the Abdication of their Dignities, and even an Article contrary to the Catholick Religion. The Eſtates pray'd the Chancellor and Dr. *Olaus Petri* to carry the Act to the King; and charg'd 'em to aſſure his Majeſty, that he ſhould never hereafter find any Oppoſition to his Will in that Aſſembly.

The King, having thus brought 'em to his own Terms, went to the Aſſembly, where, by the Chancellor's Mouth he thank'd the Deputies for their having at laſt taken Reſolutions ſutable to the preſent Exigencies. He aſſur'd 'em, That henceforward he wou'd have a particular Regard for the People; and that he hop'd, by the help of that Supply alone which they had now granted him, *Sweden* ſhou'd have no cauſe to fear her Enemies. Then he diſmiſs'd the Eſtates, with Aſſurances of his Gratitude to ſuch among the Deputies as had expreſs'd moſt Zeal for his Intereſt.

By this Act *Guſtavus* finding himſelf Maſter in a manner both of the Wealth and Religion of the Church, went at the Head of a Body of Horſe to ſee the Act put in execution. He paſt ſucceſſively from Province to Province, attended by *Olaus Petri* and many other *Lutheran* Doctors, whom he order'd to Preach before him in the principal Churches. At the ſame Time he commanded the Titles of all Church-Lands to be brought before him; Re-uniting preſently to his Demeſn, and reſtoring to the ancient

cient Proprietors or their Heirs, ſuch Lands as the Clergy had acquir'd ſince the Reign of King *Canutſon*. By which means he recover'd both from the Regular and Secular Clergy more than two Thirds of their Revenues, and by computation ſeiz'd upon Thirteen Thouſand conſiderable Farms, ſome of which he re-united to his own Demeſns, and with the reſt he recompens'd his Creatures and the Principal Officers of his Army. At the ſame time he made great Sums of Mony of the Church-Plate, which he caus'd to be melted down to enrich the publick Treaſury. 1527.

The Progreſs of the King all over his Kingdom gave the Final Blow to the Catholick Religion. An open War was in a manner declar'd againſt the Clergy, and the Foundations of the old Religion were undermin'd by the Flight or Change of its Miniſters. There could be no want of pretences at a Time when none were requir'd to turn Prieſts out of their Benefices for perſevering in the profeſſion of their Ancient Religon.

Moſt Curates and other Benefic'd Clergy-Men ſcrupl'd not to own the *Lutheran* Doctrin, to keep their Dwelling-Houſes and part of their Livings. Many of 'em were only requir'd to Marry, and to introduce into their Churches the Divine Service in the Vulgar Tongue, which was the ſureſt Mark of a Prieſt's Converſion to *Lutheraniſm*. The Biſhop of *Lincopinc* retir'd to *Poland*, and the reſt of the Prelates lay ſculking in their Houſes without dareing to perform the Functions of their Miniſtry, for fear of expoſing themſelves to new Perſecutions. They waited with a ſervile patience for the King's Orders to diſpoſe of their Perſons and Dignities, always ready to yield him Obedience; but much more vex'd at the Alteration he made in their Revenues, than for the Change of Religion. The Biſhop of *Scara*, who was not well acquainted with the

1527. Controverſies that were agitated among the Divines on both ſides, was the only Biſhop who reſolv'd to defend by the Strength of Arms his Dignity and the Revenues of his Church. In Purſuance of this Deſign, he engag'd *Tureiohanſon* with ſeveral Lords of *Weſt-Gothland*, who endeavour'd to raiſe an Inſurrection in that Province; but the Country-People were ſo prepoſſeſs'd with Eſteem and Reſpect for the King, that they refus'd to riſe up in Arms; and the Biſhop ſaw himſelf abandon'd by the whole Chapter, which began to favour *Luther*'s Opinions.

The greateſt Part of the Monks quitted their Monaſteries, ſome out of a Deſire of Liberty, and others for Want of a ſettl'd Subſiſtence. Thoſe who remain'd ſtedfaſt in their Religion fled to the *Dalecarlians*, who had openly declar'd againſt *Lutheraniſm*. There theſe miſerable Fugitives thought to have their Wants reliev'd and their Grievances redreſs'd. *Dalecarlia*, as I ſaid before, is a remote Province in the Northern Parts of *Sweden*, inhabited by a rude and ignorant People, fond of their Ancient Religion, almoſt meer Savages, inur'd to Hardſhip, and in that Reſpect fit for War, but incapable of Diſcipline. The whole Province ſwarm'd with Eccleſiaſticks, both of the Secular and Regular Clergy, old Men and Women loaded with young Children; who having quitted their Houſholds, choſe rather to wander in the Mountains, than embrace *Lutheraniſm*. The *Dalecarlians*, mov'd with their Complaints, and incens'd at the Sight of the new Paſtors in their Churches, or of the old Ones who alter'd the uſual Ceremonies, took up Arms with a great Deal of Fury: The Prieſts and Monks joyn'd with 'em, and all the Catholicks and Malecontents eſpous'd their Quarrel; ſome out of Zeal for their ancient Religion, and others out of Spite becauſe they had no Share in the Spoils of the Church.

The

The Biſhop of *Scara* no ſooner heard of this Commotion, but he fled privately to that Province, to joyn with the Rebels. He was accompany'd by the Great Marſhal, and many Gentlemen of *Weſt-Gothland*; who had ingag'd not to lay down their Arms, till they had obtain'd the Reſtoration of the Ancient Religion. They were receiv'd with great Acclamations by the *Dalecarlians*, who gave the general Command of their Forces to *Tureiohanſon*. 1527.

This Lord had three Sons, the two Eldeſt of whom were near the King's Perſon, and the Third was Grand Provoſt of the Cathedral of *Upſal*, who hearing that his Father was at the Head of the Rebels, made it his Buſineſs to ſcatter Manifeſto's againſt the King thro' the whole Province of *Upland*; exhorting the People to take up Arms and revenge the Injuries that were done to the Altars; and to incourage the People by his Example, he put himſelf at the Head of ſome Troops. In the mean time the Great Marſhal, his Father, ſent Order to his two other Sons, to ſteal away from the Court, and joyn their Brother, or come to him with as many of their Friends as they cou'd perſwade to follow 'em. But theſe young Lords were highly diſpleaſed with their Father's Rebellion, which oblig'd 'em either to declare againſt him, or againſt their Sovereign, and of two Duties which appear'd to 'em equally indiſpenſable, to chuſe the one, and renounce the other.

But their Allegiance to the King prevail'd at laſt over their Duty to their Father, and even to Religion it ſelf. They concluded, that in a State-Affair they ought to adhere to the Supream Authority, and that the Difference of Religious Worſhip was not a ſufficient Ground to excuſe 'em from the Obedience they ow'd to their Lawful Prince. They conſider'd beſides, that their Loyalty to the

1527. King might probably obtain their Father's Pardon; and that it was more agreeable to the Rules of Prudence, to put themselves in a condition by their Fidelity to obtain Pardon for their Father, than to make themselves guilty of the same Crime, in expectation of a better Fortune. Upon these Considerations they deliver'd their Letters to the King, protesting that they were ready to lay down their Lives for his Service. *Gustavus* receiv'd 'em very graciously, and promis'd to prefer 'em: But seem'd neither to be surpriz'd nor alarm'd at the News. Nor did he make any apparent Preparations, in order to reduce the Rebels; saying that he wou'd decline appearing in Arms, that his Subjects might not be oblig'd to fight against each other, and that he hop'd to crush the Rebellion by gentler Methods.

Yet he lost no Time, but made his Troops secretly file off by different ways, towards the Borders of *Dalecarlia*, that he might be all of a sudden in a condition to reduce the Rebels by the fear of Punishment. Upon the first News of the Insurrection he had sent some Persons from Court, who had Friends among the Malecontents, and were not unknown among the *Dalecarlians*, with Instructions to reduce the Rebels by fair means. These Agents apply'd themselves first to the Bishop of *Scara*, the Great Marshal, and other Malecontents that had join'd the *Dalecarlians*. They indeavour'd to gain the leading Men by advantageous Offers, but they found 'em most obstinate; and those who were willing to treat, had so little an influence upon the Party, and stood upon so high Terms, that the Agents did not think fit to buy 'em off at so great a rate. They had better Success among the *Dalecarlian* Peasants, whom they prevail'd upon to send Deputies to the Court; perswading 'em, that his Majesty wou'd deny nothing to a People to whom he

he ow'd his Crown and Glory; but their true De- 1527.
ſign was only to amuſe 'em, that they might be
leſs cautious in providing for their own Defence.

The Deputies of the *Dalecarlians*, not penetrating into the King's Policy, but concluding by the ſteps he made, that he ſtood in Awe of 'em, thought they might eaſily make their own Terms. In the Name of their Province, and of all the Roman Catholicks of the Kingdom, they demanded that *Lutheraniſm* ſhou'd be puniſh'd in *Sweden* as a Capital Crime; that the Marriage of Prieſts and Monks ſhou'd be Aboliſh'd; the Bells and Church-Plate reſtor'd; and all Perſons Burnt without any Regard or Diſtinction, that ſhou'd be convicted to have eaten Fleſh on Fiſh-Days. That the King ſhou'd oblige himſelf, after the Example of his Predeceſſors, never to paſs the River of *Brunebeck*, which ſeparates their Province from *Weſtmania*, without giving 'em Hoſtages for the Security of their Privileges. But, above all, that both King and Courtiers ſhou'd reaſſume the ancient Habit of *Sweden*, and not be beholden to Strangers for new Faſhions and Dreſſes.

Guſtavus gave the Deputies great Hopes that he would grant at leaſt part of their Demands; while he ſecretly put all things in a readineſs to ſurprize the Rebels, with his whole Army. Having receiv'd Advice, that his Troops were come within a Day's March of their appointed Rendezvous, he immediately diſmiſs'd the Deputies, and order'd them to tell their Country-men, that he would never condeſcend to treat with his Subjects, and that they might appear in Arms in the Plain of *Tuna*, to fight the Battel he was reſolv'd to offer them at the head of his Army. He added, that if they wou'd avoid the effects of his Indignation, they muſt expel the Malecontents out of their Province, lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to his Mercy.

Aſſoon

1527. Aſſoon as the King had diſmiſt the Deputies, he took Poſt immediately for the Army; and the Rebels, were ſo amaz'd at his unexpected Diligence and Reſolution, that they were ſeiz'd with a ſudden Fear and Conſternation when they heard of his Approach. *Tureiohanſon* and thoſe of his Party ſuſpected the *Dalecarlians*, and fancy'd they had made a ſeparate Peace for themſelves; and the Peaſants reciprocally thought they were betray'd by the Lords. In ſhort, they were jealous of each other, and their mutual ſuſpicion and diſtruſt was by degrees chang'd to Hatred and Enmity.

The Biſhop of *Scara* and *Tureiohanſon* not thinking themſelves ſafe with the *Dalecarlians* made their eſcape privately into *Norway*; from whence they retir'd to King *Chriſtiern* in the Low-Countries; and the reſt of the Malecontents, alarm'd at their flight, ſome fled one way, ſome another. The *Dalecarlians*, ſeeing themſelves without a Head or Leader, reſolv'd to ſubmit, and yield to their Prince's Mercy. They went to the Plain of *Tuna*, where the King ſtaid for 'em at the Head of his Army. He commanded his Horſe to ſurround 'em, and the Rebels at the ſame time to diſcover their Ring-leaders. The affrighted Peaſants declar'd their Names, and the King immediately caus'd 'em to be Beheaded, to curb by ſo neceſſary a ſeverity the ſeditious and inconſtant Humor of theſe People. Thus by an innocent Artifice and commendable Diligence, he appeas'd a furious Inſurrection, without any Effuſion of Blood, or Diminution of his Forces.

Theſe were the laſt Efforts of an Unbridl'd and Tumultuous Liberty, which was forc'd to give way to a more abſolute, and conſequently more peaceful Dominion. After this the whole Kingdom ſubmitted to the King, and all his Subjects embrac'd *Lutheraniſm*; ſome out of regard to their private Intereſt, and to make their Court, and others out of

of their abhorrence of the irregular Life of the Clergy. The *Lutheran* Doctors gained ſome Proſelytes by perſwading 'em that their Maſter's Opinions in Matters of Religion, which were falſly reckon'd Innovations, were nothing elſe but primitive Chriſtianity reſtor'd and purg'd from all Monkiſh Superſtitions; and many were glad to be convinc'd of the Truth of the prevailing Religion, that they might preſerve their Eſtates without being forc'd to ſeek their Fortunes abroad. 1527.

Guſtavus, ſeeing that moſt of his Subjects had chang'd their Religion, at laſt declar'd himſelf a *Lutheran*. He made *Olaus Petri* Paſtor of the Church of *Stockholm*, and his Brother *Laurentius Petri* Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*. Upon this new Prelate, he beſtow'd a Lady who was related to him, that the Honor of his Alliance might oblige the People to entertain leſs ſcandalous Notions of a Marri'd Prieſt; or perhaps that ſo illuſtrious a Match might make amends for the great Revenues he had withdrawn from ſo rich a Benefice. The King's Coronation follow'd ſoon after, and was perform'd at *Upſal* by this Prelate, with great Solemnity, and at the ſame time he Conferr'd the Honor of Knighthood on all the Senators, and the chief Lords of the Court. 1528. January, 12.

Sweden was *Lutheran* all over, King, Senators, Biſhops, and all the Nobility made publick Profeſſion of that Religion. But, whereas moſt of the Country Curates and others of the inferior Clergy had imbrac'd it meerly by force, or out of weakneſs, an extravagant Medly of Roman Ceremonies and *Lutheran* Prayers was introduc'd into ſeveral Churches in the Kingdom. Some Married Prieſts, and Curates continued ſtill to ſay Maſs in ſeveral Places, according to the Roman Ritual and Liturgy. Baptiſm was adminiſtred with all the Prayers and Exorciſms appointed by the Church; and the Dead were

1528. were Buri'd with the ſame Prayers that are us'd to beg God to relieve the Souls of the Faithful, tho' the Doctrin of Purgatory was condemn'd by the *Lutherans*.

The King, deſirous to eſtabliſh an uniformity of Worſhip throughout the whole Kingdom, a thing ſo neceſſary for the publick Peace, eſpecially in a Monarchy, call'd a general Aſſembly of the whole Clergy, in the form of a National Council.

1529. The Aſſembly was held at *Orebro*, the chief Town of *Nericia*, and the Chancellor *Lardz-Anderſon* preſided in the King's Name. This *Lutheran* Council was compos'd of the Biſhops, Doctors, and Paſtors of the principal Churches. They own'd the *Augsburg*-Confeſſion as the Rule and Standard of their Faith, and ſolemnly renounc'd their Obedience to the Pope, as Head of the Church. They order'd the Roman Worſhip to be entirely aboliſh'd, prohibited all Prayers for the Dead, borrow'd from the *Lutheran* Churches of *Germany* the manner of adminiſtring Baptiſm and the Communion, declar'd the Marriage of Prieſts Lawful, and condemn'd Celibacy and Monaſtick Vows. They confirm'd the Ordinance of the Eſtates at *Weſteras*, by which the Church loſt her Priviledges, and the greateſt part of her Revenues. And, which is obſervable, theſe Regulations were made by almoſt the ſame Perſons who the Year before had ſhewed ſo much Zeal for the Defence of the Ancient Religion; ſo few there are that can long withſtand the fear of Perſecution, or the hopes of Favour.

Loc. l. 6. p. 276. Bazius Hiſt. Eccle. Sued.

Yet they met with great difficulties in aboliſhing the Practice of the Roman Church in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. The People, and the Women eſpecially, could not be ſatisfy'd without the Ceremonies of Baptiſm, and the Prayers for the Dead. The whole Kingdom was fill'd with Murmurings and Complaints upon the Occaſion. Moſt Women,

Women, thro' an exceſſive Fear, proceeding perhaps as much from their Temper as Virtue, thought their Children could not be well baptiz'd without the uſe of Salt and Exorciſms. And a ſmall reſidue of Faith as to the belief of Purgatory created ſuch a diſturbance in their Minds, on the account of their deceas'd Relations, as cou'd not be allay'd by all the Eloquence of the *Lutheran* Doctors. 1529.

Guſtavus, fearing the Complaints and Diſcontent of the People ſhou'd break out into a new Rebellion, order'd the *Lutheran* Miniſters to comply with thoſe who ſtood up obſtinately for the ancient Ceremonies, and not to uſe the new, but where they found a Temper diſpos'd to receive 'em.

The King having thus compleated the alteration of Religion, undertook another Project which gave him no leſs hope of filling his Coffers. Moſt of the *Swediſh* Provinces were formerly over-ſpread with vaſt Foreſts. King *Olaus Trætelga*, *Amund*, and ſome of their Succeſſors, caus'd a great part of 'em to be Diſ-foreſted, and beſtow'd theſe new Lands in Fee-farm upon the Nobility and Gentry, for which they were to pay a certain Duty to the Crown. The Lords and Gentlemen had, by degrees, during the Civil Wars, exempted themſelves from paying thoſe ancient Duties, and a long Preſcription ſeem'd to have aboliſh'd 'em, till they were reviv'd by the King, who requir'd both from the Nobility and Gentry, either to part with their *Fiefs* or to pay Rents at which they were originally tax'd. The Claims and Demands of this Prince differ'd not much from the moſt arbitrary Laws and Decrees; and the Parties concern'd, alarm'd at this after-clap, offer'd to come to a fair Compoſition. The chief Lords of each Province came and treated about it with the Chancellor, and agreed to pay to the King Ten Marks of Silver for every Fief or Mannor, or (as it was then call'd) for every Land that paid Tribute to the Crown. 1530. *An.* 891.

Thus

1530. Thus every thing succeeded with this Prince according to his Desire, and even beyond his Hope. He look'd upon the Alteration of Religion as the happiest and most important Passage of his Reign; and the humbling of the Clergy, who were no less formidable to him than the *Danes*, as a second Conquest of *Sweden*. Of all his Enemies he had none left but *Christiern*, that cou'd make him uneasy, or occasion the least disturbance. That Prince was still in *Flanders*, from whence he earnestly solicited the Emperor, his Brother-in-Law, that he wou'd contribute his Assistance in order to his Restoration. *Gustavus* kept Spies about him, who gave him Intelligence, that *Christiern* was levying Soldiers in *Holland*. From thence he concluded, that the Threats and Design of a Descent in the Northern Kingdoms were ready to break out into Action, and that *Sweden* and *Denmark* were like to be the Scene of the War. He immediately sent Notice of it to *Frederick* K. of *Denmark*; and at the same time thought it convenient to fortify himself against the Designs of the House of *Austria*, by some considerable Alliance. He conceiv'd, that the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*, who were extremely jealous of the Emperor's Power, wou'd be easily perswaded to support his Interest, by reason of their Conformity in point of Religion. Upon these Considerations he demanded in Marriage the eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*. The Duke, charm'd with the Valor and Fame of *Gustavus*, heard the Proposal with great Satisfaction, and sent the Princess, his Daughter, with a numerous Attendance to *Lubeck*, whither *Gustavus* sent his whole Fleet to receive her. After her Arrival at *Stockholm*, the Marriage was consummated with all the Joy and Magnificence that are usual on such Occasions. At the same time the King sent the late *Administrator's* Son to the Duke of *Saxe*, his Father-in-Law, under pretext of improving his Knowledge, by

1531. Sept. 24.

by making him travel; but in Effect that he might remove from the Sight of the *Swedes*, a young Prince that ſeem'd to have a better Title to the Crown, whoſe Preſence ſtirr'd up the Compaſſion of the moſt Moderate, and might ſerve for a Pretence to all diſaffected Perſons. 1531.

Guſtavus's Nuptial Ceremonies were ſcarce at an End, when he receiv'd Intelligence, that a great Number of Troops rais'd for the late King *Chriſtiern*, were privately imbarking at one of the Ports of *Holland*. Upon which he diſpatch'd a new Courier to the K. of *Denmark*, (according to a former Agreement) and at the ſame time put himſelf at the Head of his Army, both to obſerve the Enemy, and to hinder the Catholicks and Malecontents from favouring the Deſcent of that Prince.

The Emperor had all along flatter'd him with Hopes that he would undertake the Expedition himſelf, with all the Forces of the Empire. But the almoſt continual War in which he was engag'd with *France*, broke that Deſign; ſo that *Chriſtiern*, diſcourag'd by ſo many Diſappointments, and weary of perſonating ſo long, in a Foreign Country, a King without a Crown, reſolv'd, with ſome Troops he had gather'd from ſeveral Parts, to try his Fortune, and endeavour to force a Paſſage into his own Dominions.

Tureiohanſon, who was always as brave as a Hero at plotting and contriving Work for others, us'd all poſſible Arguments to perſwade that Prince to make an Attempt upon *Sweden*. To flatter him, and at the ſame time to engage him in a Deſign that cou'd not be proſecuted without his Aſſiſtance, he aſſur'd him, that the *Swedes* were ſo incens'd at the late Change of Religion, that they long'd for his Reſtauration. That 'twould be ſufficient to land 3000 Horſe in that Kingdom, and that the firſt Maſs that was ſaid in his Camp would draw thither all the Male-

1531. Malecontents, and even many of *Guſtavus*'s own Soldiers. That notwithſtanding the fam'd Politicks and Subtilty of that Prince, he had ſign'd his own *Abdication* in the Aſſembly of the Clergy at *Orebro*, by aboliſhing the Catholick Religion. That, excepting a ſmall Number of Courtiers, and ſome military Officers who had a Share in the Spoils of the Clergy, the whole Nation deteſted his Tyranny and the Change of Religion. That he had disbanded his Foreign Horſe, and that his Foot conſiſted only of an undiſciplin'd Militia, the greateſt Part of whom would certainly deſert *Guſtavus*, as ſoon as King *Chriſtiern* ſhould declare, that his only Deſign was to reſtore the true Religion, and to redreſs the Grievances of the Clergy.

Upon theſe plauſible Aſſurances, *Chriſtiern* reſolv'd to try the Chance of War, with about ten Thouſand Men of different Nations, whom he had liſted in his Service during his Abode in the *Low Countries*. With this Body of Men, imbark'd in thirty Ships, he ſet out of a Port in *Holland*, and ſteer'd his Courſe for *Norway*, which at that time was almoſt deſtitute of Troops and Garriſons, which ſeem'd to be a needleſs Precaution in a Country that was ſufficiently defended by the Barrenneſs of its Soil, and the Rocks and Mountains with which 'tis over-ſpread. *Chriſtiern* knew, that he was leſs expected there, than in *Denmark* or *Sweden*, and from thence he deſign'd to enter *Sweden*, either by *Weſt-Gothland* or *Dalecarlia*; imagining, that the Country People of theſe Provinces, were ſtill ſo incens'd at the Execution of their Country-men, that they would immediately riſe up again in Arms, and favor his Attempt.

1532. This unfortunate Prince met in his Voyage with a terrible Storm, which diſpers'd all his Fleet, and ſunk ſome of his Ships. He narrowly eſcap'd Shipwrack upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, and with much a-

do

ado got to the Bay of *Bahus*, with the ſhatter'd Remainders of his Fleet; where he landed without the leaſt Oppoſition, and reſolv'd to march to *Weſt-Gothland*, as a more commodious Place for the Subſiſtence of his Troops: But, upon Information that there was a conſiderable Body of Horſe upon the Borders, to oppoſe his Paſſage, he was oblig'd to march Northwards, towards *Dalecarlia*. In his way he beſieg'd a Town call'd *Obſlo*, which yielded on the firſt Summons, not being in a condition to make any Reſiſtance. After that he ſtorm'd the Caſtle of *Carloſtadt*, and ſome Days after made himſelf Maſter of *Congel*. Theſe ſmall Succeſſes drew into his Army a great number of Country People of *Norway*, encourag'd with the Hopes of plund'ring the *Sweediſh* Frontiers; and Arch-Biſhop *Trolle* join'd him with ſome Troops he had rais'd in *Brandenburg*. 1532.

Chriſtiern had perhaps as little Reſpect for the Church of *Rome* as *Guſtavus*; but 'twas his Intereſt to appear a zealous Aſſertor of that Religion ſince his Enemy was a profeſt *Lutheran*, and ſince the Succeſs of his Deſigns depended entirely on the Aſſiſtance of the Clergy and Catholicks. He publiſh'd a General Pardon, by way of a Manifeſto; in which he declar'd, That his principal Deſign was the Re-eſtabliſhment of the old Religion. This Declaration was induſtriouſly diſpers'd by the Archbiſhop's Emiſſaries; who made it their Buſineſs to perſwade People ev'ry where, That *Chriſtiern* had learn'd Wiſdom and Moderation in the School of Adverſity; That he was beome a mild, affable and moſt gracious Prince; but eſpecially, that in *Flanders*, and ſo near the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he had contracted an unalterable Affection and Zeal for the Catholick Religion.

This Manifeſto, and theſe private Inſinuations drew into his Party many *Swedes*, who ſtill adher'd to that Religion: And among others ſome *Dalecarlians*,

1532. *lians*, who invited him to march into their Province. These Peasants could not brook the Change of Church Ceremonies, but, above all things, cou'd not endure to hear the Praises of God sung in their Mother-Tongue. They offer'd to take up Arms, and to declare for him, as soon as he should enter into their Province; provided that he would oblige himself, after his Restoration, to cause all the *Lutherans* to be burnt.

But his March into that Province was stopt by the Snow, that cover'd all the Mountains which separate *Dalecarlia* from the Kingdom of *Norway*. However, that he might find some Occupation for his Army, he advanc'd towards *Akerhuys*, and laid Siege before it, notwithstanding the Sharpness of the Winter. *Magnus Gyllenstiern*, a *Danish* Lord, and Viceroy of *Norway*, got into the Place, and resisted all the Promises and Threats with which *Christiern* endeavour'd to corrupt his Fidelity. He dispatch'd several Couriers to King *Frederick*, his Master, to acquaint him with the Enemy's Descent; assuring him, That *Christiern* was very much straitned for want of Provisions, and that *Akerhuys* was so well defended by the Snow and cold Weather, that he cou'd hold out above Four Months, in expectation of Relief from *Denmark*.

No sooner was the Sea open, but *Frederick* order'd his Fleet to put to Sea, with a considerable Body of Land-Forces, under the Command of *Canut Gyllenstiern*, Bishop elect of *Odensee* in *Funen*, and *Eric Gyllenstiern*, the Viceroy of *Norway*'s Brothers; Concluding, That they wou'd use all possible Diligence to save their Brother from falling into the Hands of a Prince, who, without regarding the Faith of Treaties, seldom gave his Enemies Quarter.

Gustavus on the other side, sent several Detachments of his Forces, to cover the *Swedish* Frontiers, with Orders to his Officers to observe *Christiern*'s Mo-

Motions, and to act jointly with *Frederick*'s Generals. He ſent alſo a conſiderable number of Troops into *Dalecarlia*, to prevent an Inſurrection of that rebellious People, and put himſelf at the head of the main Body of his Army, to keep the Catholicks and Malecontents from aſſiſting the Rebels. The two *Daniſh* Generals ſet ſail for *Norway*, with a Deſign to attack *Chriſtiern*'s Fleet; which they found in the Bay of *Bahuys*, and burnt entirely, after a Fight that laſted a whole Day. After ſo important a Victory they landed their Forces, and march'd immediately to relieve the Viceroy. 1532.

Chriſtiern, upon the News of the entire Deſtruction of his Fleet, and the Deſcent of the *Danes*, rais'd the Siege of *Akerhuys*. He attempted once more to enter *Sweden* by the way of *Weſt-Gothland*, but met in his Way 3000 *Swediſh* Horſe, who ſtopt his Paſſage. The *Danes* and *Swedes* advancing to attack him, he threw himſelf into the little Town of *Congel*, where he entrench'd himſelf, not ſo much in hope of eſcaping from his Enemies, as to avoid the fatal Blow for ſome Days. There he found himſelf inveſted on all Sides, ſurrounded with diſmal Mountains, that were ſtill cover'd with Snow; in great want of Proviſions, and ſtraiten'd with Hunger more than by his Enemies, he was naturally ſubject to furious and violent Paſſions, which were ſowr'd and heighten'd by his Diſaſters: He grew ſo jealous and diffident that he ſuſpected *Tureiohanſon* of entertaining a private Correſpondence with King *Guſtavus*, becauſe he had told him in *Flanders*, That there were few Horſe in the *Swediſh* Army; he look'd upon that unfortunate Lord with an Indignation that ſeem'd to denounce his approaching Fate; and ask'd him, Whether the Troops that appear'd upon the Frontiers of *Gothland* were Squadrons of *Swediſh* Women? The Great Marſhal wou'd have reply'd in his own Vindication, but he was order'd

1532. to withdraw, and the next Day he was found in the Streets of *Congel*, wallowing in his Blood, having, in all probability, been murder'd the Night before, by ſecret Orders from *Chriſtiern*.

In the mean time, that miſerable Prince perceiv'd that his Ruine grew daily more inevitable; the Famine increas'd in the Town, all the Avenues were poſſeſs'd by the Enemies, and their Trenches were ſo ſtrong that 'twas impoſſible to force 'em to fight. In theſe unhappy Circumſtances, the ſtarv'd and deſpairing *Chriſtiern* had not ſo much as the ſad Comfort of hoping to die with his Sword in his Hand. Moſt of his Troops periſh'd for Hunger, or deſerted before his Eyes; his Orders were ſlighted, and there was not the leaſt Shadow of Diſcipline in his Army. Death, which ſeem'd unavoidable, made 'em forſake a Prince, who was neither lov'd nor fear'd. Many of his Officers fled into the *Daniſh* Camp, and thought themſelves happy to exchange their Liberty for Bread.

The Biſhop of *Odenſee*, mov'd with Compaſſion for a Prince that had been his Sovereign, offer'd him an Interview, to which *Chriſtiern* conſented, and both repair'd immediately to the Place appointed for their meeting. The Biſhop adviſ'd his late Sovereign to ſubmit to leſs implacable Enemies than Hunger and Miſery, aſſuring him that 'twas ſtill in his Power to procure honourable Terms from the King, his Uncle, ſince the Royal Family of *Oldenburg* was poſſeſs'd of ſo many Sovereignties, that there might be a Treaty ſet on foot, to the Advantage and Satisfaction of both Parties. He added, That if he wou'd ſuffer himſelf to be carried to *Copenhagen*, *Frederick*'s Reſentment wou'd be mitigated at the Sight of an unfortunate Nephew; and at the ſame time he aſſur'd him, That in caſe he could not obtain honourable Terms, ſuitable to his Birth and Dignity, he would bring him back to *Norway*, and even to *Congel*, of which he own'd him to be Maſter, or elſe wou'd

wou'd conduct him ſafe into the Emperor's Territories. 1532.

Chriſtiern was ſo ſenſible of the Hopeleſſneſs of his preſent Condition, and ſo earneſtly importun'd by his Soldiers to accept of ſuch Advantageous Propoſals, that he conſented to treat with that Prelate and his two Brothers, who commanded the *Daniſh* Forces. He obtain'd a Safe-Conduct and Proviſions for Archbiſhop *Trolle* and all his Party, and put himſelf into the Biſhop's Hands: Who, after ſome ſhort ſtay in *Norway*, to ſettle Affairs in that Kingdom, departed thence with *Chriſtiern*, to whom he gave repeated Aſſurances as to the Safety of his Perſon. But the Biſhop, it ſeems, had exceeded his Commiſſion; without conſidering, That Princes ſeldom forgive Attempts upon their Crowns, and that an Uſurper can never promiſe himſelf a quiet Poſſeſſion of his Dignity while the diſpoſſeſs'd Prince is alive, and at Liberty.

As ſoon as *Chriſtiern* arriv'd at *Copenhagen*, King *Frederick* ſent a Captain of his Guards to ſecure his Perſon, and carry him to the Caſtle of *Sonderburg*; where he lay in Priſon fourteen Years. 'Tis true *Chriſtiern* III. his Couſin German, Son and immediate Succeſſor to *Frederick*, did ſomewhat allay the Rigor of his Confinement; but he was forc'd to purchaſe that Favour with a formal Reſignation of his Right to the Crowns of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*. After his ſigning of that Act, he was ſuffer'd to take the Divertiſement of Hunting or Fiſhing; the Revenues of the Caſtle of *Calemburg* and of the Iſle of *Sebergard* were made over to him for his Subſiſtence, and the Caſtle of *Coldinger* for his Habitation. There he was treated like a Prince, as long as he liv'd; but, in the mean time, the Governour of the Caſtle kept an Eye upon him, and was oblig'd to anſwer for the Security of his Perſon.

1532. Arch-Bishop *Trolle*, his unfortunate and only Confident, retir'd to *Lubeck* by Vertue of the safe Conduct he had got from the Bishop of *Odensee*. There he form'd some time after, a League with that Regency, and Prince *Christopher* of *Oldenburg*, a younger Son of that Family, with a design to release *Christiern* II. who was still a Prisoner in the Castle of *Sunderberg*. In order to which that Prelate levied Forces and scrupl'd not once more to prophane the sanctity of his Character: He was wounded and
1535. taken Prisoner in a Battel fought in *Funen* betwixt the Forces of *Christiern* III. and those of *Lubeck*; and was carri'd to *Slesvick* in *Holstein*, where he di'd of his Wounds.

Gustavus, being thus happily deliver'd from all his Enemies, Reign'd afterwards without any Disturbance or Molestation, and with as much Authority as if the Crown had been his Birth-right. All the Princes of *Europe*, that had no dependency upon the House of *Austria*, gave him extraordinary marks of the singular Esteem they had for his Personal Merit and Valour. *Francis* I. King of *France*, notwithstanding their Difference in Point of Religion, sent him the Order of St. *Michael*, the only
1542. Order that was then establish'd in *France*. A defensive League was made betwixt those two Princes against the Emperor and the House of *Austria*, by which they were both engag'd to Assist each other, in case of War, with 6000 Men, to be paid by the Assistant; and, if Occasion requir'd, to Assist the Invaded Prince with 25000 Men and Fifty Ships. *Gustavus* was the first King of *Sweden*, who rais'd the Reputation of the Crown, and made it appear to the World, what Influence it might have upon the general Affairs of *Europe*. The Princes of the League of *Smalcalden* invited him to joyn with them for the common Defence of their Religion, and thought themselves

themſelves happy to have ſo great a King on their ſide. 1542.

To compleat his Happineſs, there was nothing wanting but the fixing of the Succeſſion upon his Royal Iſſue. This was a very nice and difficult Point; for the Nobility was extreamly Jealous of that Priviledge, well knowing that Arbitrary Power do's commonly attend a Hereditary Succeſſion, and that it wou'd by degrees deſtroy the Liberty of the Nation.

However the King call'd a Meeting of the Eſtates of the Kingdom at *Weſteras*, to abrogate the Right and Cuſtom of Election. He put 'em in mind of the great Services his Family had done to *Sweden*, and of the fatal Conſequences of the Diviſions and Conteſts of oppoſite Parties at Elections. His Authority was already ſo well Eſtabliſh'd that there was not one in the Aſſembly who durſt oppoſe his Deſigns. The Heads of the Principal Families, and the Ancient Senators were kill'd in the Maſſacre of *Stockholm*, and the young Lords that came into the World ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, were accuſtom'd to a blind Obedience. There was not the leaſt Foot-ſtep left of their former Liberty, or of the Ancient Conſtitution of their Government, ſo that the Deputies conſented with great Submiſſion to the abrogating of the Right of Election, in behalf of Prince *Eric* and the other Princes his Children and Succeſſors both in the direct and collateral Line.

This Reſignation was ſolemnly entred as a Fundamental Law, call'd the *Hereditary Union*, by which the Crown with an abſolute Power was made ſure to his Children and Succeſſors. This was a very mortifying piece of News to *Chriſtiern* III. King of *Denmark*, who ſtill pretended a Right to the Crown of *Sweden*; for by this *Hereditary Union* the Treaty of* *Calmar* was entirely diſannull'd and 1544.

1544. abrogated. *Christiern* quarter'd the *Three Crowns* in his Coat Armorial, which are the Royal Arms of *Sweden*, as a publick Claim and Mark of his Right to that Kingdom, under pretext that Queen *Margaret* the Daughter of *Waldemar* Reign'd over the three Kingdoms of the North; tho' 'twas probably a like Reason that made the Kings of *Sweden* take these *Three Crowns* for their Arms, since they are found in the Shields and Seals of the Kings *Steric* and *Birger* II. about the middle of the Twelfth Age.

King *Gustavus* sent an Embassy to *Christiern*, to complain of his Attempt; but cou'd obtain no satisfaction from a Young and Ambitious Prince, who was puff'd up with some Advantages he had gotten over the *Hanse-Towns*, and obstinately resolv'd to pursue his Ancient Claim. *Gustavus* finding himself weakn'd and spent with Age, and the Fatigues of War, conceal'd his Resentment; and did not think it convenient to ingage in a new War, or to hazard his Fortune and that of his Children, at a time when he maintain'd his Authority rather by his Reputation, than by his Valour. He was so far from dreading the Opposition of a pretended Claim against the actual Possession of a Crown which had lately been Intail'd upon his Issue by a Solemn Act, that he contented himself with pro-
1546. curing a Treaty to be set on foot at *Bromsebroo*, by which 'twas mutually agreed to leave the Difference undecided for the space of Fifty Years.

Gustavus, having thus settl'd a solid and durable Peace in his Dominions, apply'd himself wholly to the Improvement of Trade; in order to which he receiv'd into his Ports all Merchant Ships from *France* and *Holland*, that his Subjects might be freed from their dependence on the *Lubeckers*, who were possest of the whole Trade of *Sweden*. He erected Citadels on the Frontiers of his Kingdom, and built

built Royal Palaces in ſeveral Places with a Magnificence that till then was unknown to the *Swedes*. He never ſtay'd long in one place, but travell'd ſucceſſively from Province to Province, always attended with a numerous Train of Courtiers, who ſtir'd up the Curioſity and Admiration of his People, and accuſtom'd 'em by their Example to reſpect his Authority. He ſign'd all Orders and Diſpatches with his own Hand, took Cognizance of all Affairs, gave Audience to all Men, and adminiſtred Juſtice with great Strictneſs and Severity. All Controverſies and Suits about Religion, Revenues and Buildings; and even Differences and Law-ſuits betwixt Noble Men were pleaded before him, and decided by him. As he had manag'd his Wars without Generals, ſo he rul'd in Peace without Miniſters. He reign'd alone without either Favourites or Miſtreſſes; and the only Object of all his Paſſions and Deſigns was his own Glory and the Happineſs of his Subjects. Some time before his Death he began to apply his Mind to the finding out of a ſuitable Match for his Eldeſt Son Prince *Eric*, that his Family might be ſupported by a conſiderable Alliance. In Purſuance of this Deſign he caſt his Eyes upon *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, who was then courted with great Aſſiduity by the greateſt Princes of *Europe*. But that politick Queen had the Dexterity to manage her Lovers as ſhe pleas'd, and to feed 'em all with Hopes, according to her own Inclination and the Poſture of her Affairs; by which it appear'd, that ſhe had taken a ſecret Reſolution never to marry any of 'em. 1546.

Guſtavus ſent an Embaſſy to her, to propoſe a ſtrict Alliance betwixt both Nations; and the chief Embaſſador was charg'd to feel her Pulſe, as to this Match. *Denis Beure*, the Prince's Governour, had that particular Commiſſion from the King. He was a *Frenchman* born, but a zealous *Calviniſt*;

1546. *nist*; who imagin'd that if he could negotiate that Match for his Pupil, he might one Day eſtabliſh *Calviniſm* in *Sweden*.

Queen *Elizabeth* receiv'd, with all the external Marks of Kindneſs and Reſpect, the Propoſals he made to her in the Name of his Maſter, relating to Trade, and the Alliance or League betwixt the two Nations, and gave him a favourable Anſwer with Reſpect to Prince *Eric*, but only in general Terms. The Embaſſador, fancying that all her obliging Expreſſions concerning that Prince were real Promiſes, made haſte home to *Stockholm*, as if he had conſummated his Negotiation. At his Return he aſſur'd the King, that nothing but the Prince's Preſence was wanting to bring it to Perfection, and that he was confident his good Mien and perſonal Merit wou'd fix the Queen's Affections. Prince *Eric*, flatter'd with ſo tempting a Proſpect, was very earneſt with the King his Father, and preſs'd him hard to conſent that he might take a Journey to *England*. But *Guſtavus*, jealous of the Glory of his Family, would not expoſe the preſumptive Heir of the Crown to a Refuſal, nor give his Conſent that he ſhould go out of the Kingdom, before ſome Articles were ſign'd.

'Tis poſſible a more important, but more ſecret Reaſon, induc'd the King to reject that Voyage. *Eric* was a Prince indow'd with many excellent natural Qualities. He had a Majeſtick Preſence, an Air of Authority which drew Reſpect from all Men, a fiery Briskneſs in his Behaviour, and a certain Ardor that was uſually taken for Courage or Valour. But the Luſtre of all theſe external Advantages was obſcur'd by ſome inward Defects that were not unknown to the King his Father, which he was willing to hide from the *Engliſh*. This Prince inherited a Sort of Extravagancy or Diſtraction from the Queen his

his Mother, which now and then ſeiz'd upon his Brain, and prompted him to outragious Acts: There was a certain peeviſh Sulleneſs that appear'd in his Behaviour and Actions, which by an odd Kind of Contagion ſeem'd to infect all thoſe who approach'd him. And in his moſt lucid Intervals he diſcover'd ſo much Hardneſs and Wildneſs of Temper, that People were afraid of his Government, even before he was own'd and declar'd to be the next Succeſſor to the King his Father. 1546.

Theſe Conſiderations made ſuch an Impreſſion upon *Guſtavus*, that he was ſometimes reſolv'd to leave the Crown to his ſecond Son, a generous and good-natur'd Prince, who, by his Careſſes and obliging Behaviour, had won the Hearts of all thoſe who were to be his Brother's Subjects. But the King, fearing leſt this Preference would ſtir up a Civil War both in his Family and Kingdom, reſolv'd at laſt to regulate the Succeſſion according to the Order of Birth-right. In the mean time to ſatisfy Prince *Eric*, whom his Tutor had inſpir'd with a violent Paſſion for Queen *Elizabeth*, he conſented at laſt, that Prince *John*, his ſecond Son, ſhould go to the Court of *England* under Pretence of Travelling, and indeavour to draw at leaſt a verbal Promiſe from the Queen.

This young Prince, being arriv'd at *London*, was receiv'd by Queen *Elizabeth* with great Demonſtrations of Joy. He had a Share in all her Divertiſements, and ſhe frequently invited him to Hunting. In ſhort, that wiſe Princeſs, who made thoſe ſeveral Propoſals of Marriage ſubſervient to her Intereſt and politick Ends, omitted nothing that might amuſe the young Prince, by inſinuating that both his Preſence and Propoſals were agreeable to her. But ſhe declin'd ingaging further in that Affair, pretending that ſhe could not in the preſent Juncture conclude

1546. conclude that Marriage so soon as she could have wish'd. This was the usual Pretext with which she amus'd all the Princes that courted her, whom she was willing to admit as Lovers, but could not resolve to accept 'em for Husbands.

Upon the return of this Prince into *Sweden*, the King presently concluded that his eldest Son Prince *Eric* wou'd have no better success in the Pursuit of this Match, than the K. of *Spain*, the D. of *Alenson*, the Arch-duke of *Austria*, E. of *Leicester*, my Lord *Courtney*, and so many others, whom this Princess had flatter'd with the same Hopes, one after another, and often at the same time. But Prince *Eric* was so deluded by his Tutor's Suggestions, that he imagin'd his Presence wou'd surmount all Obstacles; and pretended that his Brother had thwarted his Inclination, either out of Jealousy or Self-Interest. He solicited the Senators and the King's Ministers, both by Intreaties and Threats, to procure the King's Consent for him to go to the *English* Court. *Gustavus* considering his fierce and unruly Temper, and fearing that he wou'd either go without his Consent, or raise some Disturbance in the State, was at last perswaded to grant his Desire, and nam'd the Persons that were to attend him.

Philip II.

Then he made his *last Will*, and divided his Dominions among the Princes his Children: He left his Crown to Prince *Eric*, the Dukedom of *Finland* to Prince *John*, *East Gothland* to *Magnus*, and *Sudermania* to *Charles*. The younger Princes being to injoy their Provinces by the Title of Principalities, but on condition of paying Homage and Fealty to the Crown of *Sweden*.

Prince *Eric* was so highly displeas'd at this Distribution, that he was ready to take up Arms to demand the Revocation of the *Will*; but the fear of his Father, who was King of his *Children* as well as of his

his *Subjects*, kept him in awe. He conceal'd his Anger, with a Reſolution to do himſelf Juſtice when the ſupreme Power ſhould fall into his Hands; and was juſt ready to ſet Sail for *England*, when he was detain'd at the Port of *Elsburg*, by the News he receiv'd of his Father's Deceaſe. 1546.

That great Prince was ſeiz'd at *Stockholm* with an inward Fever, that waſted him by Degrees; yet he continu'd ſtill to manage Affairs with his uſual Application, and reſolv'd to reign to the laſt Moment of his Life. Some Hours before his Death he ſent for *Eric Steno* the Secretary of State, to whom he dictated Memoirs concerning the moſt ſecret Affairs of the Kingdom. Then he ſent for the young Princes, and charg'd 'em to love one another, and ſubmit peaceably to Prince *Eric*, who was now ready to mount the Throne. He gave each of 'em his Bleſſing, and made 'em preſently withdraw, leſt his Mind ſhould be diſturb'd by the Tears of his Family. He diſmiſt even his Phyſicians, (who in that Extremity continued ſtill to flatter him with Hopes of Life) that he might ſpend the laſt Moments of his Life in fixing his Thoughts wholly upon God. Thus he died peaceably in the Arms of his Servants, in the 70th Year of his Age. His Body was carried to *Upſal*, where his Funeral was ſolemniz'd with publick Orations and Panegyricks, with the Tears of all his Subjects, and the immortal Memory of his glorious Actions. 1560. Sept. 29.

He ow'd his Crown meerly to his own Valor, and reign'd with as abſolute a Power as if the Crown had been his Birth-right. He made what Alterations he pleas'd in Religion, the Laws, and the Property of his Subjects, and yet dy'd ador'd by the People, and admir'd by the Nobility. He left his Kingdom in Peace with all his Neighbours, ſecur'd by a League with *France*, and enrich'd by a flouriſhing Trade

1560. Trade with all the Nations of *Europe*; the Revenues of the Crown were much augmented, his Treasury full, his Arsenals well furnish'd; there was a considerable Fleet in the Ports, the Frontier-places were fortify'd, and, in a word, *Sweden* was in a Condition to strike her Enemies with Terror, and inspire her Allies with Respect.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

Hiſtory of Sweden.

ALL Nations have had Hiſtorians that have ſpoken of the Antiquity of their Original with ſo much Partiality and Exaggeration, that a conſidering Perſon will hardly venture to depend upon the Authority of the Authors of ancient Chronicles, and the Accounts of thoſe remote times. The leaſt Affinity of Names is reckon'd a ſufficient Ground by moſt of thoſe ancient or modern Writers, to chuſe at pleaſure among the ancient Hero's, and even among the firſt Inhabitants of the World, ſuch a Founder as they thought fit to name for their Country. Among thoſe Hiſtorians that are ſo fond of Antiquity and zealous for the Honour of their Country, thoſe who have publiſh'd an intire Body of the Hiſtory of Sweden, *have, in my Opinion, out-done all the Writers of other Nations. They ſcruple not to affirm that* Sweden *is the ancienteſt Monarchy, not only of the North, but even of all* Europe. *According to thoſe credulous or too partial Authors,* Magog, Noah's *Grandſon, came from* Scythia *to* Finland ; *from whence, coaſting the Gulf of* Bothnia *to* Gothland, *he ſettled*

ſettl'd his Son Gethar *or* Gog, *in that Country, who is ſaid to have been the firſt Prince of the* Goths; *and the Stock of the Royal Line. I will not undertake, in this place, to decide that famous Queſtion, whether* Sweden *be the original Habitation, or only a Colony of the Ancient* Goths. *Both theſe Opinions are aſſerted by ſeveral Authors. But I am fully ſatisfy'd, that 'twou'd be a very difficult Task to give a clear and diſtinct Account of the firſt Inhabitants of* Sweden, *from whence they came, and when they ſettl'd in that Country. Nor wou'd it be leſs difficult to prove, what thoſe Ancient Chroniclers ſeem to ſuppoſe, that* Sweden *had Kings almoſt as ſoon as Inhabitants; for 'tis probable, that the Heads of Families were the firſt Princes of the Earth, and that Men did not voluntarily ſubmit to a Monarchical Government, till they were convinc'd, by a long Experience, of the Inconveniencies of a tumultuous Liberty.*

But ſuppoſing ſome ancient Manuſcript hath faithfully preſerv'd the Names of the ſeveral Lords that have Rul'd in Sweden, *Who can tell whether they were Kings, or only Princes of ſome particular Country, or perhaps Judges and Captains in their reſpective Juriſdictions? and 'tis even not improbable that thoſe Heads, whoſe Names are preſerv'd, were Cotemporary, and at the ſame time Governors of ſeveral Provinces; and that the reaſon why Hiſtorians rank'd 'em ſucceſſively in their Writings, was, that they might have a longer ſeries of Kings, to fill up their Chronology. In the mean time 'tis certain, that there is no fixt Æra to be found in the* Hiſtory of Sweden, *till about the middle of the Twelfth Age; before which time the Relations of that Country are full of Darkneſs and Confuſion, Hiſtory intermixt with Fables, and embelliſh'd with fictitious Wonders, extracted from old Legends, or ancient Songs in Heroick Verſe, which were the only Annals of thoſe Times.*

In thoſe remote Ages, all the Princes and Hero's are either Giants or famous Magicians, who ſignalize their Strength and pretended Power by robbing one another, and

by

by committing barbarous and unheard of Cruelties againſt their Enemies. Juſtice and Honeſty were unknown in thoſe Ages, and even had not ſo much as a Name among theſe barbarous Nations. All Controverſies were decided by force, the moſt violent Men were moſt reſpected, and 'twas reckon'd a diſhonor for a Prince not to raviſh a Princeſs, before he married her. A wild Beaſt kill'd in the ſight of the People, or an Enemy ſurpriz'd and aſſaſſinated in his Houſe, was enough to make the bold Murderer a Hero while he liv'd, and ſometimes a God after his Death.

I ſhall however give the Reader a Catalogue of thoſe ancient Kings, as I have collected them from Swediſh *Authors, beginning with* Eric I. *who reign'd (as they relate)* 2000 *Years before our Saviour's Birth. The Chronology you will find in the Margin, according to the Computation of thoſe Writers; but I ſhall aſſert nothing till I come down to nearer Ages, where the Truth begins to appear with more certainty and clearneſs.*

T THE

THE

Fabulous Hiſtory

OF

SWEDEN.

Years of the World.

Eric I.

1849. THIS Prince's Birth is altogether unknown to us, nor are we better inform'd of the means he us'd to become Maſter of his Country, or of what paſs'd under his Government. Some Authors relate, that he ſent conſiderable Colonies into the Iſlands of the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, which at preſent are part of the Kingdom of *Denmark*; but the *Daniſh* Hiſtorians will not acknowledge the Truth of a Story that ſeems to have been invented by ſome *Swediſh* Writer, to raiſe his Nation to the Honour of Antiquity, and at the ſame time to a kind of Superiority over the neighbouring Nations.

Uddo, Alo, Othen, Charles I. Biorn, Gethar, Gylto.

2020. We have no account of the Reigns of theſe Princes, and the very Fable is here at a ſtand; only their

their Names are preſerv'd. By ſome Authors they are call'd Judges: Nor is it known whether they govern'd at the ſame time, or ſucceſſively in ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom.

An Interval of 400 *Years, during which the Fabulous Hiſtory is altogether ſilent.*

Othin.

A famous Magician, commanded the Winds as he pleas'd, aſſum'd the form of any wild Beaſt, and had Intelligence of what paſs'd in the remoteſt Places, by the means of two Domeſtick Demons. The Report of his wonderful Skill kept his Enemies in awe, and inſpir'd his Subjects with ſo profound a veneration and reſpect for him, that after his Deceaſe they enroll'd him among the Gods. The Stories of Magicians and Witches found an eaſy admittance into the Belief and Admiration of thoſe credulous and ignorant Ages. 2600.

Humblus.

If we may rely upon the Teſtimony of the *Swediſh* Hiſtorians, this Prince ſettl'd his eldeſt Son *Dan* in the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, who left his Name to the Country. *Norus*, his ſecond Son, went by his Orders into the moſt Northern Provinces, where he founded the Kingdom of *Norway*. One may eaſily perceive, that the Affinity of the Names *Dan* with *Danemark*, and *Norus* with *Norway*, has given birth to this Story. 2637.

Sigtrug.

Hiſtory is altogether ſilent concerning the Fortune and Adventures of the Poſterity of *Humblus*: 2712.

Only 'tis obſerv'd by the *Swediſh* Authors, that *Sigtrug* Uſurp'd the ſupream Power. 'Tis plain, that at that time there was no ſettl'd Form of Government in *Sweden*; and 'tis probable the Crown was only Hereditary, when the Sons of the deceas'd King were ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves in that Station; nor were they advanc'd to it, before they had ſignaliz'd themſelves by ſome bold and extraordinary exploit.

Suibdager,

2821. King of *Norway*, Conquer'd *Denmark* from *Gram* King of *Cepers*. The *Swedes* charm'd with his Valour, or aw'd by his Power, choſe him for their Sovereign; by which Election he ſaw himſelf at the ſame time abſolute Lord of the three Northern Kingdoms. This Prince, according to the *Swediſh* Hiſtory, is the firſt Foreigner upon whom the Crown was conferr'd.

Haſinund,

2891. Son and Succeſſor of *Suibdager*, was ſlain in a Battle againſt the *Danes*.

Uffo,

2939. Son and Succeſſor of *Haſinnnd*, carry'd on a War againſt the *Danes* with ſucceſs; but at laſt *Hading*, King of *Denmark*, under colour of an Interview for a Treaty of Peace, drew him into a Place, where he caus'd him to be Aſſaſſinated.

Huning,

Huning,

Uffo's Brother and Succeſſor, after a Bloody War which he undertook againſt the King of *Denmark* to revenge the Death of his Brother, chang'd of a ſudden his violent hatred againſt his Enemy into an exceſs of Friendſhip. A ſolemn Peace was concluded betwixt theſe two Princes, with a ſolemn Oath on both ſides, that upon the Death of either, the other ſhou'd not ſurvive him. It happen'd not long after, that *Hading* was falſly reported to have been Aſſaſſinated by his own Daughter; which *Huning* believing, reſolv'd to die according to his Promiſe. In purſuance of this deſign, he regal'd his Friends and the chief Perſons of the Kingdom with a ſumptuous Entertainment, and at the Concluſion of the Feaſt, being Drunk, he threw himſelf into a deep Tub full of Mead, and ſo drown'd himſelf. *Hading* was vext at the News, but reſolving to imitate the Generoſity of his Friend, he very courageouſly Hang'd himſelf. in the ſight of all his People; if there be any credit to be given to thoſe ancient Hiſtories, or rather to the Hiſtories of thoſe Ancient Ages. 2983.

Regner,

The Son and Succeſſor of *Huning*, was made King of *Sweden*, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition of his Mother-in-Law *Torilla*. He Govern'd his Subjects with much Equity and Moderation. But theſe peaceful Virtues were ſo far from procuring him the Love and Eſteem of a Cruel and Barbarous People, that he was ſlighted and contemn'd, becauſe he would not gratify their ſavage Humour by plundering the Neighbouring Countries, and perhaps alſo becauſe he was too gene- 3031.

rous to cauſe his private Enemies to be Aſſaſſinated.

Hothebrod,

3060. The Son and Succeſſor of *Regner*, was a warlike and daring Prince, and undertook ſeveral fortunate Expeditions againſt the *Finlanders*, *Ruſſes*, *Eſthonians* and *Curlandians*: After which he attack'd *Roe* King of *Denmark*, whom he kill'd at the Head of his Army. He purſu'd this Victory with ſo much vigor, that he made himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom: But he did not long injoy his Conqueſt; for the *Danes* revolting at the inſtigation of *Helgo Roe*'s Brother, *Hothebrod* was routed and kill'd, and by this means the *Swedes* were expell'd out of *Denmark*. Theſe pretended Conqueſts of Kingdoms were only Inrodes made by the victorious party into the Enemies Country. For ſince there were no places of ſtrength where Garriſons cou'd be left to ſecure the Conqueſt, as ſoon as the Victorious Army retir'd with their Booty, the Conquer'd Nation took up Arms and choſe a new King or Captain, to command 'em.

Attila I.

3125. Succeeded his Father *Hothebrod*, and Marri'd the Mother of *Rool* King of *Denmark*. But that Match inſtead of producing a laſting Peace between the two Kingdoms, and a good Underſtanding betwixt the Kings, ſerv'd only to re-kindle the War with greater fury than ever. The Queen of *Sweden* having ſeiz'd upon the Treaſury of the King her Huſband, fled to her Son in *Denmark*. *Attila* incens'd at her perfidiouſneſs, invaded *Denmark* with his Forces, and routed the *Danes*. *Rool* was defeated and kill'd by

by one of the *Swediſh* Generals, and *Hother*, *Attila*'s Brother, was made King of *Denmark*.

Hother,

King of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, routed the *Danes*, who revolted at the Inſtigation of *Balder*, a Prince of that Nation; after which he march'd againſt the *Ruſſes*, but loſt his Life in that Expedition. 3174.

Rodric.

This victorious Prince, reveng'd his Father's Death by the Defeat of the *Ruſſes*, and ſubdu'd the *Finlanders*, *Wendi*, and *Sclavonians*. 3252.

Attila II,

The Son and Succeſſor of *Rotheric*; he fought a ſingle Combat at the Head of his Army with *Frovia* General of the *Daniſh* Forces, and kill'd him. *Fronia* left two Sons, who as ſoon as they were grown up to Age went to *Sweden*, and offer'd their Service to *Attila*, pretending to be Soldiers of Fortune. They were receiv'd into the King's Houſe, whom they afterwards Aſſaſſinated to revenge the Death of their Father. 3336.

Botwil, Charles II, Gzimmer, Todon, Gothar, Adolphus, Algot, Eric II. Lindorp.

The Fabulous Chronology mentions only the Names of thoſe Nine Princes, without relating their Adventures or ſo much as the Length of their Reigns. 3351.

Alaric.

3916. Under this Prince's Reign the *Swediſh* Monarchy was divided into two Kingdoms, *Alaric* reigning in *Sweden*, and *Geſtiblind* in both the *Gothlands*. This Diviſion and the Neighbourhood of two barbarous Nations, occaſion'd bloody Wars betwixt 'em. *Alaric*, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, challeng'd *Geſtiblind* to a ſingle Combat; who declin'd it by Reaſon of his Age, but offer'd in his ſtead *Eric* Prince of *Norway*, who was come to his Aſſiſtance. Theſe two Champions fought with all the Fury and Obſtinacy that Men are capable of, when they reſolve either to vanquiſh or die. *Alaric* was ſlain; and *Geſtiblind*, to reward *Eric*'s Valour, not only gave him the Crown of *Sweden*, but appointed him his Succeſſor in the Kingdom of *Gothland*; by which Means theſe two Crowns were not long after re-united upon the Head of that Prince.

Eric III. ſurnam'd the *Wiſe*.

3931. This Prince liv'd in a profound Peace, and apply'd himſelf wholly to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Execution of the Laws. This got him the Surname of *Wiſe*, which he preferr'd to that of *Brave* and *Courageous*, tho' he really deſerv'd it by the Valour he ſhew'd in the Combat he fought with King *Alaric*.

Halden I.

A. C. 43. The Son and Succeſſor of *Eric the Wiſe*; he ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Wars of *Norway*, and reſtor'd *Fricdelef* King of *Denmark* to his Father's Throne, from which he had been expell'd by an Uſurper, Returning to *Sweden* at the Head of a victorious Army,

Army, he reſolv'd to make his Will the only Standard and Rule of his Government. Upon which his Subjects revolted, his Officers and Soldiers forſook him, and he was at laſt put to Death by the Malecontents.

Siward.

Haldan's Son was own'd for his Succeſſor, upon Condition that none ſhould be moleſted about the Death of his Father. Under this Prince's Reign the *Goths* were again ſeparated from the *Swediſh* Monarchy, and choſe for their King a Prince call'd *Charles* of the Family of their antient Kings; who to eſtabliſh his Authority, made a League with *Harald* King of *Denmark*, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage. *Siward*, to prevent the ill Conſequences of the Confederacy gave his Daughter *Ulvilda* to *Frotho* the King of *Denmark*'s Brother; who by Reaſon of his Valour was more reſpected among the *Danes*, than the King his Brother. Theſe croſs Matches kindl'd a Civil War in *Denmark*, and *Frotho* was ſupported by thoſe who admir'd and endeavour'd to imitate his Bravery. He fought with the King his Brother, routed his Army, and ſlew him with his own Hand in the Heat of the Fight. King *Harald* left two Sons, *Haldan* and *Harald*, who, to revenge their Father's Death, ſurpriz'd *Frotho* in his Houſe, burnt him alive, and ſton'd Queen *Ulvilda*. This furious Piece of Revenge, which was eſteem'd by thoſe barbarous People as a moſt brave and generous Act, made all the *Danes* unanimouſly reſolve to follow the young Princes. They march'd into *Sweden*, gave Battle to King *Siward*, cut his Army in pieces, and ſlew him in the Fight. 100.

Eric

Eric IV.

169. The two victorious Brothers divided their Conquests; *Denmark* falling to *Harald*'s Lot, and *Sweden* to *Haldan*'s. But the *Swedes* set up *Eric*, *Siward*'s Grand-child against *Haldan*; which occasion'd a new Civil War. *Eric* was victorious for several Times on Land. But *Harald*, coming with a great Fleet to his Brother's Assistance, routed *Eric*'s Navy, who rather than yield up himself to his Enemies Mercy threw himself into the Sea.

Haldan II.

187. Succeeded *Eric*, according to the Custom of those Times, when the Crown and Dominions of the vanquish'd Prince were always the Conqueror's Reward. This Prince slew with his own Hand two monstrous Giants, and fought afterwards alone against *Siward* and his seven Sons, whom he kill'd in a single Combat: Such great Exploits procur'd him the Admiration of the *Swedes*, who celebrated his Praise in their Heroick Songs, and after his Decease rank'd him among their greatest Heroes.

Unguin.

194. This Prince, who was already King of the *Goths*, was appointed by *Haldan* for his Successor to the Crown of *Sweden*. But the *Swedes* resolving to maintain their Priviledge of chusing their own Master, Elected *Ragnald*. One Battle decided the Difference, in which *Unguin* was slain by *Ragnald*.

Ragnald.

Ragnald.

This Prince, not contented with the Death and Defeat of King *Unguin*, purſu'd *Sigvald* his Son to *Denmark*, whither he had retir'd, who, being aſſiſted by the *Danes*, gave him Battle in *Seland*, and kill'd him with his own Hand at the Head of both Armies. 203.

Amund.

He ſucceeded his Father *Ragnald*, and contented himſelf with the Poſſeſſion of the Crown without undertaking any conſiderable Attempt. He had four Sons who reſided in the Court of *Denmark*, where they occaſion'd great Diſorders. If we may believe the Chronicles, 'twas the uſual Cuſtom of *Young Princes* in thoſe Times to Travel thro' the Neighbouring Countries in queſt of hazardous Adventures to ſignalize their Courage and Valour. To kill a *Giant* in ſingle Combat, or a *Wild Beaſt* in the preſence of a King; to carry away a *Young Princeſs*, and to Debauch or Raviſh a *Queen*, were reckon'd among their Nobleſt Exploits, and worthy of Immortal Honor. And the bold *Hero* at his Return to his Country was always preferr'd before the reſt of his Brothers when the Throne became vacant by his Father's Death. 220.

Haquin.

This Prince during the Life of his Father *Amund*, invaded *Denmark*, routed King *Sigar* in a pitch'd Battle, and put the whole Country under Military Execution, to revenge the Death of his Brothers, who were kill'd by the King of *Denmark*'s Order. He was advanc'd to the Throne after his Father's 226.

ther's Death, and had the good Fortune to die in Peace; nor was the tranquillity of his Reign disturb'd by any Civil or Foreign War.

Osten.

230. He was the Son of *Gether* King of *Norway*, and obtain'd the Crown of *Sweden* by Election. To revenge his Father's Death, who was Assassinated by the *Norwegians* for his Cruelty; he enter'd that Kingdom at the head of his Army, and having destroy'd the whole Country with Fire and Sword, without sparing either Age or Sex, he appointed his *Dog* to reign over 'em, as reckoning 'em unworthy to obey a *Man*. Perhaps this Story is a meer Fable occasion'd by a punning Allusion to the Name of the Person whom he intrusted with the Government during his Absence; tho', if we consider the wild and barbarous Genius of that Age, it may not improbably be supposed that he gave the Title of *Viceroy* to a real *Dog*: Nor will that Act of Revenge seem more surprizingly extravagant, than the fantastical Humor of a certain *Roman* Emperor, who made his *Horse* a *Consul*.

Caligula.

Alver.

235. This Prince being one of the most considerable Persons of the *Swedish* Nation was chosen King after the Death of *Osten*. He defeated the *Russians*, and made 'em tributary to the Crown of *Sweden*. He died in Peace after a short Reign.

Ingo.

Ingo.

He was choſen King after the Death of his Father *Alver*, and fix'd his Reſidence at *Upſal*, which he made the Capital City of the Kingdom. His Succeſſors oftentimes aſſum'd the Title of Kings of *Upſal*, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other *Petty Sovereigns*, who founded little *Monarchies* in ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom. 240.

Fiolmus.

Hiſtory has only preſerv'd the *Name* of this Prince, without acquainting us with his Actions or with the length of his Reign: Nor are the ſucceeding Princes for a Hundred Years ſo much as mention'd in the *Swediſh* Chronicles. 262.

Ingell.

He was ſo incens'd at his Brother *Olaus* for admoniſhing him of his Wife's Infidelity, that he became his declar'd Enemy. But the Quarrel was ſoon decided by the Death of *Ingell*, who was kill'd by *Olaus*. 378.

Germunder,

The Son and Succeſſor of *Ingell*. He declar'd War againſt *Harald* King of *Denmark*, his Brother-in-Law, who finding himſelf unable to ſuſtain the Shock of ſo potent an Enemy, begg'd a Peace, and having obtain'd it, deſir'd *Germunder* to make a Viſit to the Queen his Siſter. Immediately that unfortunate Prince Disbanded his Army, and went to the Court of *Denmark*, where he was apprehended and afterwards hang'd by the Command of the Treach- 382.

Treacherous *Harald*, in the ſight of all his Vaſſals whom he invited to be Witneſſes of that diſmal Spectacle.

'Twas not the Cuſtom in thoſe Days to exchange Hoſtages; the Kings kept no Guards, nor did their Houſhold conſiſt of a numerous Train of Officers. During the War they were ſerv'd by the principal Perſons of the Nation; but aſſoon as a Peace was concluded, every Man retir'd to his own Houſe, and left the Prince alone with his Family and Domeſtick Servants.

Hequin Ringo.

387. No ſooner was the Young Prince able to bear Arms, but he reſolv'd to revenge his Father's Death upon his Faithleſs Murderer. In order to the effectual Execution of that Deſign he us'd more than ordinary Diligence in levying Forces, and entertain'd all the ſtragling Adventurers that wou'd enter into his Service. The Neighbouring Nations engag'd in the Quarrel according to their various Intereſts, or the Deſigns and Inclinations of their Sovereigns: The *Engliſh*, *Iriſh* and *Saxons* declar'd for the King of *Denmark*, and *Haquin* was aſſiſted by the *Norwegians*, *Curlandians* and *Eſthonians*. The two contending Princes Arm'd all their Subjects, and even the *Women* were inſpir'd with a generous Ambition to obtain a ſhare both in the Hazard and Glory of ſo important an Action. *Hetha* commanded a Company of Women in the *Swediſh* Army, and *Viſna* march'd under the *Daniſh* Standards. At laſt the two Armies came to a deciſive Battle, in which *Harald* was kill'd, and the victorious *Haquin* having made himſelf Maſter of *Denmark* entruſted *Hetha* with the Government of that Conquer'd Kingdom. Hiſtorians obſerve that the King of *Sweden* ow'd his Victory to the Valour of the *Dalecarlians* who inhabit

habit one of the Northern Provinces of that Country.

Egil.

The Son and Succeſſor of *Haquin*. He impos'd a Tribute upon *Amund* King of *Denmark*, ſubdu'd a ſeditious Party that rebell'd againſt him, and after all was unfortunately kill'd by a Wild Ox at Hunting. 399.

Gother.

He ſeiz'd and carry'd away the Daughter of *Amund* King of *Denmark*, and conquer'd *Schonen* and *Haland* which belong'd to the *Danes*. At laſt he was kill'd by his own Subjects, who revolted againſt him for eſtabliſhing ſome new Laws that ſeem'd to encroach on the Privileges and Liberty of the Nation. 405.

Adelus.

Gother was ſucceeded by his Son *Adelus*, whoſe Reign is remarkable for his ſucceſsful Expedition againſt the *Danes* to revenge the Death of his Siſter, who loſt her Life by the ill-grounded Jealouſy of her Husband, *Jammeric* King of *Denmark*. The King of *Sweden* invaded *Denmark*, and beſieg'd that cruel Prince, who was no leſs odious to his own Subjects than to his Enemies. *Jammeric* was taken after a Siege that laſted ſome Months, and his Legs and Arms were cut off by the Victorious *Swedes*, who pillag'd his Treaſures, and re-united the Provinces of *Schonen*, *Haland* and *Bleking* to *Gothland*, from which they were formerly diſmember'd. 433.

Oſtan.

Olfan.

437. This Prince loſt both his Crown and his Life by endeavouring to impoſe a Tax upon his Subjects: for that fierce People, who were extremely jealous of their Liberty, were ſo incens'd againſt a Prince, whom they look'd upon as an Oppreſſor, that having ſupriz'd him in his Houſe, they burnt him and his whole Family.

'Tis plain from this inſtance, and from the Hiſtory of the preceding Kings, that the fate of thoſe Princes ſeem'd to be in the Power, and to depend upon the Humor of their Subjects.

Ingomar.

453. Hiſtorians relate that *Gothland* was at that time ſubject to a diſtinct King, who had a Daughter of admirable Beauty, which is the uſual Character of all the Princeſſes that are mention'd in thoſe Ancient Hiſtories. *Snio* King of *Denmark* and *Ingomar* King of *Sweden* were both Captivated by the Charms of that young Beauty; and tho' the former was more agreeable to the Daughter, the latter was preferr'd by the *Father* who made the King of *Sweden* happy in the Poſſeſſion of his Miſtreſs, with the Reverſion of a Crown for her Dowry. The King of *Denmark* cou'd not patiently bear the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Prize: He enter'd *Sweden* at the Head of an Army, and having vanquiſh'd his Rival, he ſeiz'd on the fair Queen, who without Reluctancy follow'd the Conqueror of her Husband. But *Ingomar* was rather irritated than diſcourag'd by his Misfortune: He made new Levies, invaded *Denmark*, routed and kill'd *Snio*, and was ſo far from ſcrupling to receive his Beautiful Wife, that the Difficulty of the *Conqueſt* ſerv'd only to lighten the Pleaſure of the

the *Victory*. At laſt he was kill'd in a War which he undertook againſt the *Ruſſes*.

Halſtan I. Raguard, Wartman, Torbon, Rodolph, Goſtag, Arthur, Haquin, Charles IV. Charles V. Birger, Eric V. Torril, Biorn II. Alaric II.

Here there is a long Interruption in the *Swediſh* Hiſtory; for tho' the Names of the Princes who Govern'd that Kingdom from the Year 460 to the beginning of the *Ninth* Age are preſerv'd, the Memory of their Actions is entirely loſt, neither do we find in the Chronicles ſo much as an account of their Families. 460.

Biorn III.

The Reign of this Prince may be reckon'd a conſiderable *Æra* in the Hiſtory of *Sweden:* For the Emperor *Lewis the Gentle* ſent *Angſarus* Biſhop of *Breme*, who preach'd the *Chriſtian* Doctrine in that Kingdom, and converted ſeveral Petty Kings. But notwithſtanding all the Labours of that Prelate, *Idolatry* prevail'd in the Kingdom till the end of the Tenth Age, when the People began to erect Churches to the Honour of the true *GOD*, under the Reign of King *Olaus the Tributary*, who openly profeſt the *Chriſtian* Religion. 816.

Braut-amund.

This Prince perceiving that the People were very numerous, Diſforeſted the Woody and Untill'd Grounds 824.

Grounds and beſtow'd 'em on his Subjects, who by way of acknowledgment were oblig'd either to pay a certain Tribute, or to Aſſiſt the King on Horſe-back in time of War. From hence we may reckon the Original of the *Fiefs* of this Kingdom, which at firſt held immediately of the Crown, but were afterwards uſurp'd by the Clergy and Nobility. King *Braut-amund* did not long enjoy the Advantage of this new Settlement; for his Brother *Sivard* rebell'd againſt him, and kill'd him at the head of his Army, in the third Year of his Reign.

Sivard II.

827. The *Swedes* immediately plac'd the Crown on the head of the Victorious Rebel, while he was yet ſtain'd with the Blood of his Brother and Sovereign: For in thoſe Days *Force* was the Supreme Law, and a fortunate Malefactor was prais'd and rewarded for a Crime that wou'd have been ſeverely puniſh'd if it had not been attended with ſucceſs. *Sivard* ſeeing himſelf fixt on the Throne Invaded the *Norwegians*, whom he ſurpriz'd before they cou'd put themſelves in a poſture of defence: He pillag'd the whole Country, raviſh'd the moſt Beautiful Women, and after he had ſatiated his own Luſt, left 'em to be abus'd by the Chief Captains of his Army. But theſe Barbarities were in ſome meaſure expiated by the ſpeedy Vengeance that overtook the impious Tyrant: The *Norwegians*, animated with Deſpair and Fury, made head againſt their Oppreſſor, the very Women ran to Arms, and *Sivard* himſelf fell by the Hand of one of thoſe *Heroins* whom he had abus'd, as a Sacrifice to her injur'd Vertue, and to the Honor of the Nation.

Herot.

This Prince had a Daughter who was reputed a compleat Beauty: *Regner* King of *Denmark* demanded her for his Wife; but the King of *Sweden*, according to the uſual Cuſtom of thoſe Times won'd not beſtow the Princeſs upon him till he had ſignaliz'd his Courage by fighting againſt two *Bears* of a prodigious bigneſs, who infeſted the Country about *Upſal*. *Regner* accepted the Condition, ſlew the two *Bears*, and receiv'd the dear Recompence of his Valour. Some Authors relate that theſe pretended *Bears* were two *Robbers* who made a terrible havock in the Country, and for that Reaſon were call'd *Wild Beaſts* by the People. 834.

Charles VI.

He was elected by the unanimous Conſent of the *Swedes*, *Herot*'s Children being excluded from the Succeſſion. One of the Sons of the Deceaſed King was incited by his Brother-in-Law, *Regner* King of *Denmark*, to oppoſe the pretended Injuſtice of that Election. Great Preparations were made on both ſides, and at laſt they came to a deciſive Battel, which put an end to the Diſpute by the Death of both the Competitors. But tho' neither of the two contending Parties cou'd boaſt of their Succeſs; *Regner* look-ed upon the Defeat of both as an important Victory, and during the general Diſorder made his Son *Biorn*, King of *Sweden*. 856.

Biorn IV.

Biorn was the Son of *Regner* King of *Denmark*, and Grandſon of *Herot* King of *Sweden*. He endeavour'd to make himſelf the abſolute Maſter of his 868.

Subjects, and treated 'em as conquer'd Slaves. But he was at last convinc'd of the impracticableness of that Attempt, andthat he had to do with a People who lov'd their Liberty too well to suffer a Stranger to deprive 'em of it; for they took up Arms against their Oppressor, and forc'd him to retire to *Norway*.

Ingiald.

940. After the flight of *Biorn*, *Ingiald*, the Grandson of *Braut-amund*, was advanc'd to the Throne at the Desire of the whole Nation. 'Tis said that he was nourish'd in his Youth with the Hearts of *Wolves*, to make him strong and Fierce, and that his Temper and Actions were suitable to his Food and Education. The Inauguration of the Prince, and the Ceremony of taking Possession of the Crown consisted at that Time in a splendid Feast, to which all the principal Persons of the Kingdom were invited by their new Sovereign. Assoon as the Entertainment was over, a large Vessel call'd *Bragagebar* was fill'd with Wine, which the Prince was oblig'd to Drink up before he mounted the Throne. Then he swore solmnly to extend the Limits of the Kingdom, and to make his Enemies feel the weight of his Sword. *Ingiald* took this Oath at his Accession to the Crown, which was accompanyed with all the usual Ceremonies. Most of the Provinces in the Kingdom were at that time subject to distinct Kings, who only pay'd Homage to the King of *Upsal* when they were over-aw'd by his Power. *Ingiald*, according to the Custom, invited 'em to the Solemnity of his Coronation,and regal'd 'em with a great deal of Magnificence; but the Scene was chang'd at Night: For the King of *Upsal* resolving to rid himself of so many petty Sovereigns who seldom own'd his Authority, but when they were forc'd

forc'd to obey him, order'd 'em to be burnt in the Houſe whither they retir'd after the Feaſt, and immediately ſeiz'd upon their *Eſtates*, and on the Government of their Provinces. This open Violation of the Law of Nations, and of the publick Liberty of *Sweden*, render'd the King ſo odious to his People, that when his Dominions were invaded by the King of *Denmark*, they refus'd to Aſſiſt him. Thus he ſaw in himſelf a memorable Inſtance of the Vanity of a meer *titular Sovereignty*, and of the weakneſs of a King that does not reign in the Hearts of his Subjects. The *Daniſh* Army advanc'd without Oppoſition, and the unfortunate *Ingiald* fearing leaſt he ſhould fall into the Hands of his Enemy, burnt himſelf in his Houſe with his whole Family.

Olaus Tratelia.

The ſurname of *Tratelia* was given him, becauſe in imitation of King *Braut-amund*, he diſoreſted ſeveral Lands, which he beſtow'd as *Fiefs* upon his Subjects; ſo that almoſt all the till'd Ground in the Kingdom was at that Time Tributary to the Crown. 891.

Ingo II.

The Son and Succeſſor of *Olaus*. He was a *Peaceable* Prince, and conſequently deſpis'd by his fierce Subjects, who delighted in nothing elſe but *War*. 900.

Eric VI.

He ow'd his Advancement to his own Subtlety, and to the Superſtition of the *Swedes* who took him for a profound *Magician*. He perſwaded 'em that 907.

the Winds and Tempeſts were at his Diſpoſal, and by that means eaſily gain'd the Reſpect and Admiration of a rude and barbarous Nation.

Eric VII. ſurnam'd the *Victorious*.

917. This Prince is ſomewhat better known in Hiſtory than his Predeceſſors. He croſs'd the *Baltick* Sea with an Army, made a Deſcent into *Livonia*, and made himſelf Maſter of that Province. He enlarg'd his Dominions with the Addition of the Provinces of *Schonen* and *Haland*, which he conquer'd from the *Danes*, and after a long *ſeries* of Victories died, belov'd of his Subjects and fear'd by his Neighbours and Enemies.

Eric VIII.

940. He was converted by two Prieſts, call'd *Adelwart* and *Steven*, who came from *Hamburgh* to Preach the *Chriſtian* Doctrine in *Sweden*; and ſignaliz'd his Zeal by ordering the Idolatrous Temple at *Upſal* to be demoliſh'd. But the People looking upon that Action as a Sacrilegious Contempt of their Gods, Aſſaſſinated the King and the two *German* Miſſionaries; ſo that both he and they ſeem to have a juſt right to the glorious Title of *Martyrs*.

Olaus the Tributary

980. He ſucceeded his Brother *Eric*, and was ſo far from being diſcourag'd by that Prince's cruel and untimely Death, that he made open Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion. Some Authors reckon him the firſt Chriſtian King of *Sweden*, becauſe under his Reign there were ſeveral Churches built to the Honour of the true God, and the People were generally converted to the Chriſtian Faith, by the Miniſtery

ſtery of certain *Engliſh* Prieſts, who notwithſtanding the ſeeming Purity of their Zeal, were accus'd of promoting their own Intereſt, and carrying on their Politick deſigns under the ſpecious Pretext of propagating the Goſpel. For 'twas by their Advice that *Olaus* made his Kingdom ſubject to the Holy See, and oblig'd his Subjects to pay a certain Tribute to the Pope, which was commonly call'd *Peter's Pence.* But his Succeſſor ſoon grew weary of that Religious Bondage, and abrogated an impoſition that was found to be burdenſome to the People, and prejudicial to the Crown.

Amund the Burner,

The Son and Succeſſor of *Olaus.* He was ſur- 1019.
nam'd the *Burner*, becauſe he ordaind that when any man injur'd his Neighbor, his Houſe ſhould be burnt; from whence it may be obſerv'd that the *Swedes* were ſtill a very rude and barbarous People about the beginning of the eleventh Age. This Prince was kill'd in a Battle againſt *Canut the Rich*, King of *Denmark.*

Emund Slemme.

The difference betwixt the Crowns of *Sweden* and 1035.
Denmark concerning *Schonen* was terminated by a Treaty to the prejudice of the former, which made the King odious to his Subjects. For they cou'd not endure that he ſhou'd acknowledge that Province to belong to the Crown of *Denmark*, which they had always reckon'd a part of *Gothland.* 'Tis almoſt impoſſible to read the Hiſtory of theſe Nations without obſerving the many advantages that a *crafty Politician* has over a *blunt Soldier*; for there is hardly one Treaty recorded in their Chronicles, in which a conſidering Reader may not find ſeveral

remarkable Inſtances of the ſubtlety of the *Daniſh* Miniſters in the Management of Negociations. Their *Wit* did more Execution than the *Swediſh Valour*; and with one daſh of a *Pen* they cou'd eaſily heal the Wounds they receiv'd by the *Swords* of their Enemies.

Haquin the Red.

1041. After the Death of *Emund* there was a warm diſpute about the Election of a new King. The *Swedes* Voted for *Stenchil* whoſe Mother was *Olaus* the *Tributary's* Daughter: And the People of *Gothland* declar'd unanimouſly for their Country-man *Haquin*, who was the Son of a Peaſant, but celebrated for his Valour and Courage. However the two Competitors ſubmitted to a friendly Agreement, tho' in thoſe times ſuch Controverſies were wont to be decided in a ſingle Combat. *Haquin*, who was already very Ancient, Reign'd Firſt, and left the Crown to *Stenchil* who was appointed to ſucceed him.

Stenchil II.

1059. He made it his principal care to execute the Laws and defend the Eſtabliſh'd Religion; but the Kingdom did not long enjoy the Bleſſing of ſo Wiſe and Pious a Prince. He left two Sons, who contended ſo eagerly about the Succeſſion, that they took up Arms, and were both kill'd in the Diſpute.

Ingo III.

1061. The whole Nation approv'd the Election of a Prince, who was worthy of their Eſteem and Affection; for he was not inferior to his Predeceſſor either in Piety or Juſtice. He made an expreſs Law to aboliſh Idolatrous Sacrifices, and endeavor'd to curb

curb and ſubdue ſeveral petty Tyrants that oppreſt the People, but he periſh'd in the Attempt; for he was ſurpriz'd in his Houſe, and Barbarouſly Murder'd by the diſaffected Party.

Halſtan,

Succeeded his Brother *Ingo*. He was Naturally of a mild and gentle Temper; he took pleaſure in doing good, and even had the prudence and good Fortune to make the *Swedes* love and admire theſe peaceful Vertues. 1064.

Philip,

Succeeded his Father *Halſtan* both in his Dignity and Vertues. Here the Chronicles begin to take notice of the Illuſtrious Family of the *Folquingians*, who were intruſted with a very conſiderable ſhare in the Government by ſeveral ſucceeding Princes. 1080.

Ingo IV,

Succeeded his Father *Philip*, and imitated his Predeceſſors in his zeal for the Advancement of Religion, and in the care he took to Adminiſter Juſtice and put the Laws in execution againſt obſtinate Offenders. He was poiſon'd by ſome *Oſtrogoth* Lords who dreaded his Power and Juſtice. 1110.

Under the five laſt Reigns, *Sweden* enjoy'd a profound and uninterrupted Peace. This may be juſtly reckon'd the *Golden Age* of that Monarchy, during which the publick Tranquillity was neither diſturb'd by *Civil* nor *Foreign* Wars. And it ought to be obſerv'd that the People ow'd their Happineſs to the Wiſdom and Moderation of thoſe Princes, who were equally careful to abſtain from invading the Do-

Dominions of their Neighbors and from incroching upon the Liberty and Privileges of their Subjects.

Ragnald.

1129. The *Swedes* were of too fierce and active a Temper to reliſh the ſoft Delights of Peace. They reſolv'd to ſupply the vacancy of the Throne by advancing a Prince that would furniſh 'em with an Employment more ſuitable to their Genius; and in purſuance of that reſolution made choice of *Ragnald*, meerly on the ſcore of his Strength and of the largeneſs of his Stature. But they were ſoon convinc'd of their imprudence in lodging the Sovereign Authority in the hands of a cruel and violent Prince, who hated and contemn'd the Laws and Privileges of his Country, and made it his only care to extend the Prerogative of the Crown, and to eſtabliſh an *Arbitrary* and *Deſpotic Power*, in a Country where the *Kings* were almoſt only conſider'd as the *Captains* or *Generals* of the People. They lov'd a *Warlike* Prince, but could not endure a *Tyrant*; and ſince he treated 'em as *Slaves* they reſolv'd to treat him as an *Enemy*. According to the cuſtom of thoſe times when the King enter'd into any Province, he receiv'd Hoſtages from the Inhabitants for the ſecurity of his Perſon, and was oblig'd to give Hoſtages for the ſecurity of their Privileges. But the fierce and haughty *Ragnald* ſcorning to imitate his Predeceſſors, enter'd *Weſt-Gothland* in Arms; and the People reſolving to maintain ſo important a Ceremony, aſſaulted that imperious Prince, and kill'd him in his Paſſage through their Territories.

Su=

Suercher II.

Ragnald had mortify'd the *Swedes* ſo effectually, and they were ſo ſenſible of their imprudence in advancing a Prince of his Temper to the Throne, that they reſolv'd to proceed with more caution in the choice of a Succeſſor. *Suercher* was Elected by the unanimous conſent of the whole Nation, and was both an exact Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, and a Zealous promoter of Religion. But the Quiet and Happineſs of his Reign was diſturb'd by the Extravagancies of his lewd and unruly Son, who was a profeſt Enemy both to the Religion and Laws of his Country. He made an Irruption into *Haland* at the head of a Company of Robbers and other Licentious Villains, the Wicked Inſtruments of his Criminal Paſſions, and ſeizing on the Wife and Siſter of the Governor of that Province, abus'd 'em in a moſt Barbarous manner, and afterwards expos'd 'em to the brutiſh Luſt of his Followers. The *Danes* took up Arms to purſue the Raviſher; the *Swedes* wou'd not Aſſiſt a Prince whom they look'd upon as the ſcandal of their Nation; and *Suercher* ſoon after receiv'd the Melancholy News of the Death of his unhappy Son, who was Attack'd and kill'd by the *Danes*, with his infamous Retinue. Nor was this the only diſaſter that befel the unfortunate *Suercher*; for he was Aſſaſſinated in his Sled by a company of diſaffected Perſons as he was going to Church with his Family and Servants. The Illuſtrious Family of the Counts of *Brahe* reckon their deſcent from this Prince. 1140.

The

The ſucceeding Hiſtory *and* Chronology *of the* Swediſh Monarchy *is more certain and exact.*

Eric IX.

After the Death of *Suercher*, the Voices were ſo
1150. equally divided at the Election, and each of the oppoſite Parties maintain'd their choice with ſo much heat and obſtinacy, that *Sweden* was again ſeparated into two diſtinct Kingdoms. The inhabitants of both the *Gothlands* voted for *Charles* the Son of *Suercher*; but the reſt of the *Swedes* declar'd for *Eric*, whoſe Poſterity enjoy'd the Sovereign Authority for the ſpace of 200 Years. His Valor recommended him to their choice, and his Piety procur'd him the Title of a *Saint* after his Death. He enter'd *Finland* at the head of an Army; but that Expedition was not ſo much an effect of his Ambition or Deſire of Glory, as of his zeal for propagating the Chriſtian Religion. Nor did he content himſelf with opening a way to the *Miſſionaries* who were ſent thither to preach the Goſpel, but became an *Apoſtle* himſelf, and endeavour'd with all poſſible Ardor and Application to compleat the converſion of that People. He collected the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom into one Body, and added new Edicts or Statutes that were of excellent importance for the advantage and ſecurity of the publick: But theſe peaceful virtues were ſo far from gaining the hearts of a people that were accuſtom'd to live by Robbing and Plundering each other, that they were extreamly incens'd againſt their Religious Prince for attempting to eſtabliſh and execute the Laws of Juſtice and Equity at a time and in a Country, in which *Force* and *Power* were rekon'd ſufficient Arguments

guments to excuſe, and even to juſtify *Injury* and *Oppreſſion*. The devout King *Eric* was Barbarouſly Aſſaſſinated by his ſeditious Subjects; and the King of *Gothland* was ſuſpected of encouraging, and correſponding with the Rebels.

Charles VII.

The *Swedes* advanc'd this Prince to the Throne, 1162.
that the two *Gothlands* might be reunited to the Crown. He took all poſſible care to keep his Subjects from ſuſpecting that he had a Hand in the death of his Predeceſſor. In purſuance of that deſign, he began the Exerciſe of his Regal Authority by ordaining that all the Laws of St. *Eric* ſhou'd be punctually obſerv'd: He recall'd *Canut*, that Prince's Son, who after his Fathers Death had made his eſcape into *Norway*: And to remove all the pretexts that might be us'd for embroiling the Kingdom in a civil War, he made a Law that *Canut* ſhou'd inherit the Crown after his Death, and that for ever afterwards the King ſhou'd be choſen by turns out of the two Royal Families. Afterwards he erected ſeveral *Monaſteries* to gain the Eſteem and Affection of the People, who are always extreamly fond of ſuch external Marks of Piety and Devotion.

He ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to obtain from Pope *Alexander* III. the Title of *Arch-Biſhop*, and the *Pallium* for the Biſhop of *Upſal*, who was Primate of the Kingdom. The Pope was eaſily prevail'd with to grant, or rather to *ſell* him the favour he deſir'd, according vo the uſual Maxims of the Court of *Rome*; and that Prelate was inveſted with the *Archiepiſcopal* Dignity, on condition that the Eſtates of all thoſe who died without Children in the Kingdom ſhou'd be intail'd upon the Holy-See; but the *Swedes* ſoon grew weary of that Religious Bondage, and freed themſelves from ſo burdenſom a Tribute.

Canut.

Canut.

1168. Tho' King *Charles* had made a ſolemn Law to ſettle the Succeſſion upon this Prince, his Ambition cou'd not be ſatisfied with the Proſpect of a Crown in Reverſion. He levy'd Forces in *Norway*, and reſolving at once to recover the Throne, and revenge the Death of his Father, he invaded *Sweden*, routed King *Charles*, kill'd him in the Battle, and by that Victory made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom. He left no means unattempted to extirpate the whole Race of his Predeceſſor; but ſince 'twas never in the Power of a Tyrant to ſecure his Uſurpation by the Death of his Succeſſor, all the cruel Diligence with which he perſecuted the Family of the late King, cou'd not hinder the *Swedes* from Electing *Suercher* the Son of that Prince, according to the Law by which 'twas ordain'd that the two Families ſhould enjoy the Crown by turns.

Suercher III.

1192. This Prince imitating the Barbarous Policy of his Predeceſſor, order'd an exact Search to be made for all the Relations and Poſterity of St. *Eric*. But one of thoſe Princes eſcap'd his Fury, and rais'd an Army to make head againſt his Perſecutor.

Eric X.

1211. He defeated King *Suercher* in a Battle, and after that Prince's Death obtain'd the Crown, which at that time was always the Reward of the Conqueror. As ſoon as he was fix'd upon the Throne he endeavour'd to make a friendly Agreemnnt with the Family of his Predeceſſor; in order to which he offer'd to re-eſtabliſh the Law that was made by King *Charles*

Charles for regulating the Succeſſion; and to convince the poſterity of that Prince that he really deſign'd to put the Treaty in Execution, he appointed *John* the Son of *Suercher* to ſucceed him, excluding his own Son Prince *Eric*, who was oblig'd to content himſelf with a diſtant proſpect of inheriting the Crown after the Death of Prince *John*.

John I

He conquer'd ſome places in *Livonia*, and endea- 1220.
vour'd by Force of Arms to make the *Eſthonians* renounce the Idolatry that prevail'd among 'em: But the People of that Country looking upon their *forc'd Converſion* as a ſort of *Slavery*, took up Arms and drove the *Swedes* out of their Province. In the mean time King *John* Died in the Iſle of *Wienſinſo*, after he had reign'd three years.

Eric XI. call'd the *Stammerer*.

He was the Son of *Eric* X, and obtain'd the Poſ- 1223.
ſeſſion of the Crown without the leaſt Effuſion of Blood: It may be reckon'd a very rare Inſtance of moderation that a Royal Family ſhou'd ſo tamely diveſt themſelves of the Sovereign Authority, and ſuffer a Prince of another Houſe to mount the Throne without Oppoſition. This Monarch had occaſion during his Reign to perform a very important Piece of ſervice to the *Regency* of *Lubeck*. The *Danes* Beſieg'd that City with a numerous Army, and ſhut up the Port with an Iron Chain, which was defended by a potent Fleet. But when the City was reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity, the King of *Sweden* ſent a conſiderable number of Ships mann'd with Soldiers, under the Convoy of ſeveral Men of War, who beat the *Danes*, open'd a Paſſage thro' their Squadrons, broke the Chain, with which the Mouth of

of the River *Trave* was block'd up, reliev'd the City with Men, Proviſions and Ammunition, and by that ſeaſonable and important ſupply deliver'd the Republick from the *Daniſh* Yoak. The Regency, as a Teſtimony of the publick gratitude for ſo ſignal a Deliverance, ordain'd that the *Swediſh* Merchant Ships ſhou'd from that time be exempted from the payment of Cuſtoms and Duties.

Waldemar

1251. The Family of King *Suercher* ſhou'd have had their turn in the Election, by vertue of the Treaty concluded with the Houſe of *Eric:* But it ſeems the *Swedes* had either forgotten or neglected that Agreement; for tho' *Eric* the *Stammerer* left no Iſſue, they Elected *Waldemar* the Son of that Prince's Siſter, and of Jerl or Count *Birger*, who was General of the *Swediſh* Forces during the preceding Reign. It may perhaps appear ſtrange that the *Son*, tho' an Infant, was preferr'd before his *Father*; but 'tis plain from the *Swediſh* Hiſtory that tho' the Kingdom was always Elective, 'twas the perpetual cuſtom of the People to chuſe a Prince of the Royal Family, preferrably to all the other Lords of the Kingdom. In the mean time the Count or Jerl *Birger* was intruſted with the care of the Government, during the Minority of King *Waldemar*: And that Wiſe Lord, who was his own Son's Miniſter, made it his principal Care to raiſe the Honor and Authority of the Crown. He concluded a Peace with the Neighbouring Princes, and then apply'd himſelf wholly to the contriving and purſuing of thoſe Maxims that might make him abſolute in the Kingdom. He built and fortify'd the City of *Stockholm*, inſtituted good and uſeful Laws, and exacted a punctual obſervance of 'em. Upon advice that ſome Lords began to grow Jealous of his Authority, and to complain that he made

made an ill uſe of it, he ſuppreſs'd thoſe brooding Commotions, by ordering the principal Fomenters of 'em to be beheaded. Afterwards he marry'd the King his Son to *Sophia* the Daughter of *Eric* King of *Denmark*, that the Authority of his Family might be ſecur'd by ſo Powerful an Alliance. As ſoon as the young Prince was of Age, he advanc'd his Father from the Dignity and Title of a JERL to that of a *Duke*, as a Recompence for his Paternal Care; and by his Father's Advice he created his Brother *Magnus* Prince of *Sudermania*, *Eric* Prince of *Smaland*, and *Benedict* Prince of *Finland*. *Birger* having ſettl'd his Family, and eſtabliſh'd his Son upon the Throne, dy'd not long after; and the Peace and Happineſs of *Sweden* ended with the Life of that Great Man.

King *Waldemar* repenting his Kindneſs to the Princes his Brothers, endeavour'd to deprive 'em of the Eſtates he had beſtow'd on 'em by way of *Appennage*, eſpecially Duke *Magnus*, whom he accus'd of aſpiring to the Crown. Theſe Animoſi- occaſion'd a furious inteſtine War, which was fomented by the *Danes*, and ended in the Defeat and Abdication of King *Waldemar*, who was taken Priſoner, and after he had reſign'd the Crown, retir'd with his *Daniſh* Auxiliaries to *Malmogen* in the Province of *Schonen*.

MAGNUS LADISLAS.

The Merit of this Prince entitl'd him to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, which his Brother was neither able to preſerve, nor worthy to enjoy. In the beginning of his Reign, he made it his Buſineſs to increaſe his Revenues and diminiſh his Charge, as the ſureſt way to eſtabliſh his Authority. He made ſo ſtrong an Intereſt in the Convention of the Eſtates, that the Sovereignty of all the Mines in the Kingdom, and of the Four great Lakes, *Meler. Wener*,

ner, *Weter*, and *Hielmer*, and all the Duties or Rents of the disforeſted Lands were ſolemnly veſted in the Crown.

This wiſe Prince made uſe of ſo conſiderable an Augmentation of his Revenues to ſecure his Authority againſt the Natural Inconſtancy of a Nation, that could neither live without a King, nor ſubmit to the Dominion of a Potent and Reſolute Prince. He invited ſeveral *German* Lords to his Court, and advanc'd 'em to the principal Offices in the Kingdom. The Promotion of theſe Strangers, and the Intereſt which the King had in Foreign Countries made the *Swediſh* Lords extremely uneaſy, and at laſt irritated 'em to ſuch a degree that they Aſſaſſinated all the *Germans*. The King was highly incens'd at ſo bold an Action, but had the Prudence to conceal his Indignation: In the mean time he made ſecret Levies, and as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf in a Condition to execute his Revenge, he ſurpriz'd the Male-contents and caus'd their principal Ring-leaders to be beheaded. The Spirit of Rebellion ſeem'd to be quite extinguiſh'd by the Severity of ſo terrible a Blow, and that wiſe and daring Prince would have certainly eſtabliſh'd his Authority upon ſuch ſure Foundations, and advanc'd it to ſo great a height, that he might have bequeath'd an Abſolute Power to his Children, if the Accompliſhment of his Deſigns had not been prevented by his Death. He left Three Sons, *Birger*, *Eric*, and *Waldemar*, the eldeſt of whom was not Eleven Years old.

BIRGER II.

During the Minority of this Prince, the Care of the Government was intruſted to *Torckel Enutſon*, who made himſelf Maſter of *Carelia*, took *Hexholm* from the *Ruſſes*, and fortify'd *Wiburg*, to cover the neighbouring Places from the Incurſions of that People.

People. After the King was of Age to undertake the Management of Affairs, he marry'd *Meretta*, the Daughter of *Eric*, King of *Denmark*; Prince *Waldemar* his Brother took to Wife the Daughter of the Regent *Enutſon*, and Prince *Eric* marry'd *Ingeburgh* the Daughter of *Haquin* King of *Norway*. This Prince was ſo far from being deterr'd by the Fate of his Uncle King *Waldemar*, that he ſeem'd reſolv'd to follow the ſame Methods which occaſion'd all the Diſorders that diſturb'd the Reign of that Prince. He ſeiz'd on the Tythes, and impriſon'd ſome Biſhops, who took the liberty to complain of his Incroaching upon their Privileges. Nor did the Princes his Brothers meet with a better Treatment: for inſtead of ſuffering 'em to live unmoleſted in their reſpective Governments, he endeavour'd to make 'em depend abſolutely on the Court, and to reduce 'em to an entire Subjection to his Arbitrary Commands. The injur'd Princes, perceiving the general Diſſatisfaction of the People, took up Arms, and were follow'd by all thoſe who were offended at the publick Violation of their Liberty and Privileges. In the mean time the King levy'd Forces to oppoſe the Deſigns of his Brothers, and was aſſiſted by his Brother-in-law the King of *Denmark*: But finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the prevailing Faction, he reſolv'd to execute his Deſigns by Treachery, ſince he could not depend upon the Succeſs of his Arms. In purſuance of this unmanly Reſolution, he invited his Brothers to Court, under the pretext of a ſincere Reconciliation, and as ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of their Perſons, by that infamous Stratagem, he order'd 'em to be caſt into a Dungeon, where they were ſtarv'd to Death.

The *Swedes* abhorring the Baſeneſs and Inhumanity of their Treacherous Sovereign, took up Arms immediately, advanc'd *Magnus*, the Son of Duke

Eric

Eric to the Throne, and march'd in purſuit of King *Birger*, who had the Misfortune to ſee his Army defeated and his Son taken Priſoner by his Enemies. That unhappy Prince was made a Sacrifice to the Fury of the incens'd Multitude, who cut off his Head to deliver *Magnus* from ſo dangerous a Competitor; and his miſerable Father dreading the ſame Fate, fled to *Denmark*, where he died in an obſcure and ignominious Retreat.

The Reader will find, at the beginning of this Work, the Names of the ſucceeding Princes, with a ſhort account of their Actions.

1330 *Magnus Smeck*, the Son of Duke *Eric*.
1372 *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*.
1395 *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Waldemar* K. of *Denmark* and Q. of the three Northern Nations.
1424 *Eric* XIII. Duke of *Pomerania*, Sovereign of the three Kingdoms of the North.
1441 *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria*, K. of the three Northern Nations.
1445 *Charles Canutſon*, a *Swediſh* Lord, elected K. of *Sweden* and *Norway*.
1457 *Chriſtiern* of *Oldenburg*, Anceſtor of the preſent King of *Denmark*. King of the three Northern Nations.
1470 *Steno* I. King *Canutſon*'s Nephew, *Adminiſtrator* of the Kingdom of *Sweden*.
1504 *Suonto Sturius*, *Adminiſtrator* of *Sweden*.
1512 *Steno* II. the Son of *Suanto*, *Adminiſtrator*.
1520 *Chriſtiern* II. Sovereign of the 3 Kingdoms of the North.
1523 *Guſtavus Vaſa*, a *Swediſh* Lord, *Adminiſtrator* and afterwards *King* of *Sweden*, procures the Crown to be entail'd upon his Poſterity.

20 SE 65

FINIS.